

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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FOCUS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN

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MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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The journal "Medelhavsmuseet. Focus on the Mediterranean" is aimed at audiences working with museological, archaeological, historical and modern questions and issues in the Mediterranean, seeking also to arouse interest in material cultural heritage in this region among a wider audience. The first part of this second volume contains scientific studies in the collections while the second part highlights some of the major activities which the Medelhavsmuseet has undertaken in recent time.

The Medelhavsmuseet is a state museum founded in 1954. It houses ancient and historical collections mainly from Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey, a large portion of which stems from Swedish archaeological excavations undertaken in the early 20th century. Since 1999, the Medelhavsmuseet, together with the Ethnographic Museum, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm and the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg form the organization the National Museums of World Culture, the purpose of which is to provide a perspective on world cultures to wider audiences.

Cover illustration: Foreman Hikmat Ta'ani (Jordan) and archaeologist Christian Frebutte (Belgium) in discussion.
Photo: Craig Mauzy.

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MERIMDE BENISALÂME: A NOTE ON THE OVAL CLAY STRUCTURES WITH HIPPOPOTAMUS *TIBIA* ENTRANCE STEP

Tine Bagh

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The prehistoric collection from Egypt in the Medelhavsmuseet is partly composed of artefacts from Merimde Benisalâme in the southwestern Nile Delta, also known simply as Merimde. The site was discovered by Hermann Junker, Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo and Professor in Vienna, during his West Delta expedition in 1928¹ and excavations were carried out in 1929–1939² when an area of 6400 m² was exposed. The excavation season of 1931/32 was funded by Swedish money and Pehr Lugn participated for the Egyptian Museum (now Medelhavsmuseet) in Stockholm together with his assistant Egil Lönnberg in Nov.–Dec. 1931.³ In the following 3 seasons the excavations were still partly financed by Swedish money and part of the finds went to Stockholm as did 2000 item numbers from 1931/32. The Swedish team was itself now excavating at another site near Merimde, also named Merimde and discovered by Junker, Merimde Abu Ghâlib,⁴ known as Abu Ghâlib. In 1977–1982 German excavations under supervision of Joseph Eiwanger took place with trenches and 8 x 8m squares in the area between the two large areas of Junker.⁵

Merimde Benisalâme is a key site for our knowledge of the beginning of the Neolithic life style in Lower Egypt during the 5th millennium B.C.,⁶ and it is only really matched by the findings of G. Caton-Thompson and E. Gardner in the northern Fayum region with the so-called Fayum A culture.⁷ No signs of actual dwelling structures were discerned at Fayum except for a large group of fireholes, denoting fireplaces, and an area with a number of store pits lined with reed mats forming large stationary baskets. In these were found emmer wheat and barley as well as two examples of complete sickles with blades. A few possible postholes for reed huts are mentioned, and it has been proposed that the shifting extension of the Lake Qarun caused the Neolithic population there to be living in non permanent dwellings as their fields were possibly often at changing locations.⁸

To gain more information about the huts that sheltered the first known Neolithic settlers of Lower Egypt, it is thus necessary to turn to the site of Merimde. The preliminary reports by Junker remain the only published evidence for the structures at the site since the publications of the more recent German excavations

have till now concentrated on the finds from the three habitation phases, Level I, II and III–V. These later publications also include much of the material from Junker's excavations,⁹ but concerning the structures they are restricted to some remarks and hold no illustrations of these.

The oval clay structures at Merimde

The huts of the first Neolithic level, Level I, the so-called "*Urschicht*", were oval or round structures of wattle and daub construction preserved as postholes, see Fig. 1.¹⁰ From the last Neolithic phase, Level III–V (and mainly Level V), clay built foundations of an oval shape made their appearance in a greater number. They were built of slabs or in some cases sausage-shaped rings ("*Wülste*") of clay put on top of each other, and it was clear that their floor levels had been below ground level.

During the excavation season of 1931/32, when P. Lugn participated, more substantial evidence was discovered with more examples of the oval clay structures. An explanation of the hippopotamus bone found earlier in a badly preserved structure



Fig. 1 Merimde Excavations 8/12, 1931, of Square R:4 with postholes, storage pits and the tomb of a man, oriented east-west, head towards east, facing north.



*Fig. 2 Merimde Excavations 14/12, 1931,
showing an oval clay structure in Square
T:6, - 170 with a hippopotamus tibia
entrance step.*

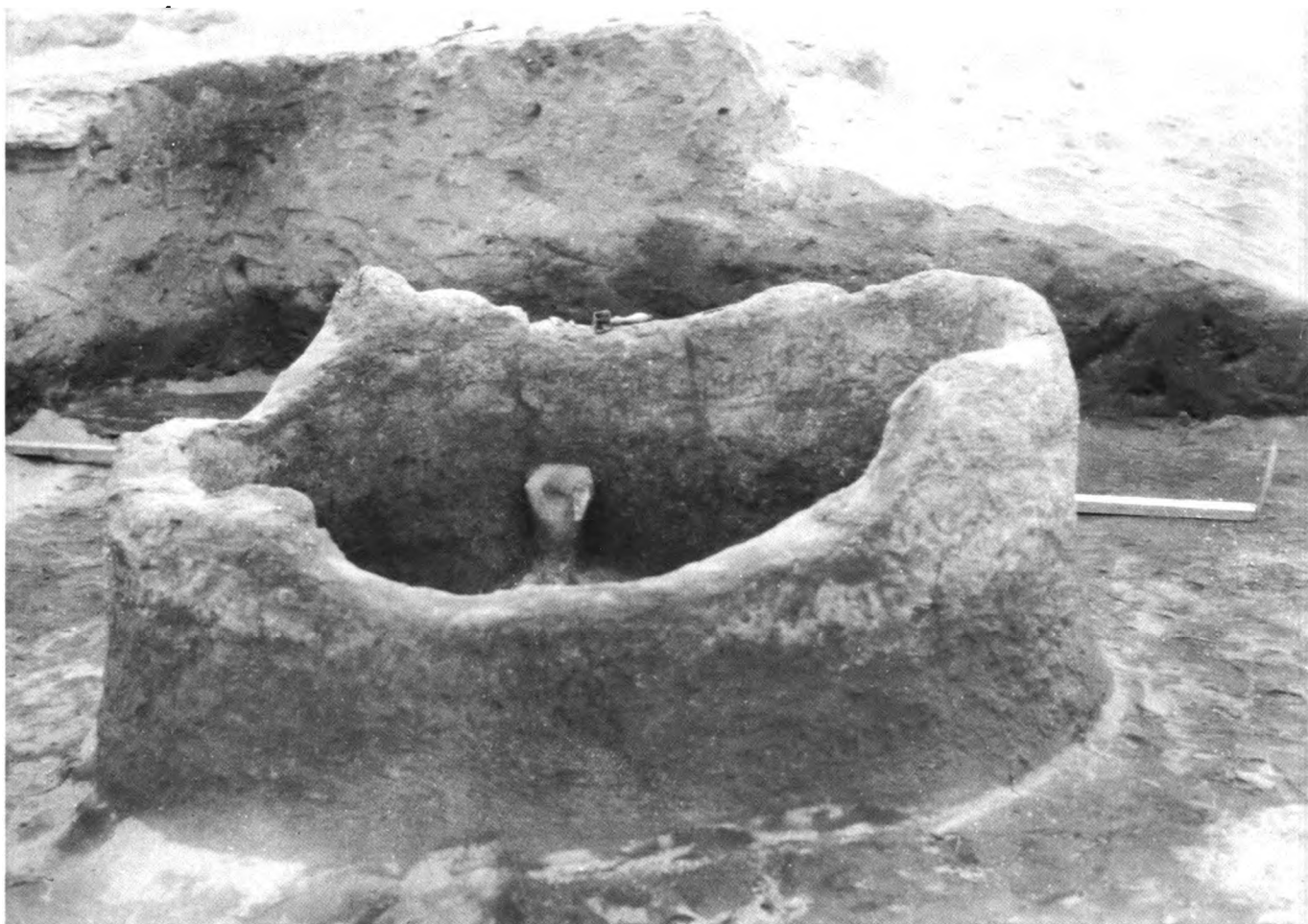


Fig. 3 Merimde Excavations 9/12, 1931, showing an oval clay structure in Square T:4, - 120 with a hippopotamus tibia entrance step.



Fig. 4 Close-up of the hippopotamus tibia in Fig. 3.

was also offered, as they now appeared *in situ*. Junker never published photos showing the hippopotamus *tibiae* and their position, but he included a reconstruction drawing of how the huts had been entered by stepping down on a hippo *tibia* placed vertically against the inside wall at the middle of the longer side and how the base was fastened in the floor and part of the upper part in the wall.¹¹ In some of the larger structures, the base of the *tibia* was covered by more mud so as to form a second step, and in one of the smaller ones, two smaller animal bones had been used instead of the hippo *tibia*. Not all of the oval clay structures possessed a recognisable entrance step, but an alternative was found in the season of 1934 when a built-in oblique standing wooden pole was seen to fulfil the same purpose.¹²

In the archives of the Medelhavsmuseet, photos are kept from the excavations during the Swedish participation in November-December 1931. Among these, several show examples of the oval clay structures and some of them also the hippopotamus *tibia* entrance step as published here for the first time in Figs. 2-4. A list with the measurements of the 17 clay ovals found in 1931-32¹³ include these examples: T:4.-120¹⁴ (Fig. 3) is of the smaller type measuring 200 x 140 x 60+X cm, and T:6.-170 (Fig. 2) is somewhat larger, 250 x 140 x 50+X cm. The largest examples measured 330 x 200 cm whereas the smallest were only half that size about 150 x 100 cm.¹⁵

Comparisons

When standing hippopotamus bones were encountered also at the site of Maadi, dated to the following predyn-

nastic 4th millennium, they were compared to Merimde, but it was observed that they had a different function at Maadi. No structures to which they could be associated as at Merimde were found in the immediate vicinity of the bones. Stones at their bases supported them and their upper parts were worn and scarred. At Maadi the hippopotamus bones were thus interpreted as most probably a kind of anvil, which also explains the scarred upper part.¹⁶

At Hemamieh in Middle Egypt, nine mud circles, somewhat similar to the oval clay structures at Merimde, were exposed and dated to the beginning of the 4th millennium in the first phase of the predynastic period: Naqada I or Amratian. They are, as the name indicates, circular in shape rather than oval as the ones at Merimde, and they measure only 1-2 m in diameter. Their construction was of clay mixed with chips of limestone and there was evidence of some kind of reed or straw construction on their outside while the floor level was below ground level as at Merimde. Inside, the floors were of smooth greyish clay that also covered the inner walls. Their diminutive size let the excavator, G. Caton-Thompson, to opt for these sunk clay circles as foundations for store rooms rather than habitation, while she also stated that a hearth in one of the circles would indicate the opposite. In another circle, however, fuel was definitely stored. At Hemamieh, no kind of entrance step into the clay circles was apparent, apart from one instance of a limestone slab that might have derived from the Old Kingdom coffin burials overlying the clay circles.

Interpretation

At first, Junker had considered the oval clay structures at Merimde to be an alternative form of storage facilities to the mat lined pits, mentioned above in connection with the Fayum A culture and also found in Merimde. Their relative small dimensions would, at first glance, indicate that they were unsuitable as dwellings, but larger examples had also turned up and they could easily house at least three adults.¹⁷ When he furthermore encountered a number of oval clay structures that were lying in an orderly fashion in rows with a "street" between them,¹⁸ Junker became more and more convinced that they had all served as dwellings. This was also supported by the evidence of the pottery flasks that he had first seen as drains for rainwater as they were placed with the opening at the level of the floor. These were now also found not completely lowered into the floor and they might thus have functioned as storage for food or drink for the inhabitants.¹⁹ In the last report he even considered the smallest clay ovals to be dwellings – for bachelors (!).²⁰

Eiwanger, on the other hand, seems to adhere to interpreting them as storage facilities.²¹ However, at least for the larger examples, and pending the last final publication volume²², the evidence brought forward by Junker does rather suggest that they were foundations for actual dwellings, part of which possessed a sophisticated entrance step being a speciality of the inhabitants of Merimde.

NOTES

1. H. Junker, *Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien nach dem Westdelta entsendete Expedition (20. Dezember 1927 bis 25. Februar 1928)*. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 68. Band, 3. Abhandlung, Wien und Leipzig 1928.

2. Published in preliminary reports by H. Junker (hereafter cited as Junker, Vorbericht I-VI/VII): Vorbericht I = *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 66, 1929, 156-248. Vorbericht II = *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 67, 1930, 21-82. Vorbericht III = *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 69, 1932, 36-99. Vorbericht IV = *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 70, 1933, 54-97. Vorbericht V = *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 71, 1934, 118-132. Vorbericht VI/VII = *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 77, 1940, 3-25.

3. Junker, Vorbericht III, 36-38.

4. Merimde means "ash hill", referring to the appearance of an ancient site. For the early Middle Kingdom site of Abu Ghālib, cf. H. Larsen, *MDAIK* 6, 1936, 41-87 and *MDAIK* 10, 1941, 1-59. Also two reports appeared in Swedish, P. Lugn, *Svenska grävningar i Egypten vintern 1931-32. En prehumanitär redogörelse*, in: *Arkeologiska studier tillägnade H.K.H. Kronprins Gustaf Adolf*, ed. N. Edén, Stockholm 1932, 329-350, and H. Larsen, *Svenska grävningar i Egypten, Ymer. Svenska sällskapet för antropologi och geografi*, 1938, h. 1, 18-41. The present author has initiated a final publication of the finds from Abu Ghālib now stored in the Medelhavsmuseet; cf. *MDAIK* 58, 2002, 29-61.

5. J. Eiwanger, *Merimde-Benissalame I-III*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Vol.

47/51/59. Mainz am Rhein 1984/1988/1992 (hereafter cited as Eiwanger, *Merimde-Benissalame I-III*). A fourth and last volume on the stratigraphy is planned (see Vol. III, 10, n. 12).

6. Cf. for example I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford 2000, 37-39. J. Eiwanger, *Merimde Benissalame*, in: K. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London 1999, 505, dates the Merimde sequence to circa 4,750-4,250 B.C. according to calibrated radiocarbon dates.

7. G. Caton-Thompson and E. Gardner, *The Desert Fayum*. London 1934.

8. R.J. Wenke, Fayum, Neolithic and Predynastic sites, in: K. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London 1999, 314. Cf. also J.K. Kozłowski and B. Ginter, The Fayum Neolithic in the light of new discoveries, in: L. Krzyżaniak and M. Kobusiewicz, (eds.), *Late Prehistory of the Nile Basin and the Sahara*, Poznań 1989, 177, who show that different settlement types existed in keeping with the water level of the lake and the time of year.

9. Eiwanger, *Merimde-Benissalame I*, 7, explains how a large part of the documentation was lost during the Second World War.

10. Junker, Vorbericht VI/VII, pl. I (top) shows an example which also has a posthole in the middle for support of the roof, and ascribes it to Level II. Eiwanger, *Merimde-Benissalame I*, 12 and 59, states, however, that these reed constructions belong mainly to Level I and were not found in Level II of their excavations.

11. Junker, Vorbericht III, figs. 1b and 2.

12. Junker, Vorbericht V, 124, fig. 3.

13. Junker, Vorbericht III, 43-44.

14. "T:4" being the excavated square and "- 120" the level.

15. Junker, Vorbericht V, 126.

16. I. Rizkana & J. Seeher, *Maadi III*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Vol. 80, Mainz am Rhein 1989, 68-70. For a general introduction to the dwellings at the site of Maadi, cf. I. Rizkana, The Prehistoric House, in: M. Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im alten Ägypten*, Wien 1996, 175-183.

17. Junker, Vorbericht III, pl. IIb, shows three men sitting inside one of the larger oval clay structures.

18. Junker, Vorbericht V, fig. 1.

19. Junker, Vorbericht VI/VII, 11.

20. Junker, Vorbericht VI/VII, 11.

21. J. Eiwanger, *Merimde Benissalame*, in: K. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London 1999, 501.

22. Cf. n. 5.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS FROM THE UR III PERIOD IN THE MEDELHAVSMUSEET

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Introduction

No other period in the history of the ancient Mesopotamian culture has produced more texts concerning the social, administrative and economic system than Ur III. The number of published Ur III tablets today exceeds 45,000.¹ Still, these published texts compose only a small part of the total texts found in different museums and private collections around the world. One of the most important tasks of Sumerian research is to make these available, not only to other Sumerologists, but also to the general public.

The small but varied and most interesting collection of Ur III tablets published here belongs to the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. The tablets were originally brought to Sweden by the late Swedish Assyriologist Dr. A. Haldar, who sold or donated several old oriental texts and objects from his own private collection to the museum. Little else can be said about the modern history of the texts in the museum, but their ancient provenance can, on the basis of other criteria (see below), be determined with a reasonably amount of accuracy.

Some general remarks on the Ur III state and its administrative texts

For the benefit of readers not versed in Sumerology, a few words should be said about the area and period from which the clay tablets dealt with in this article originate.

The founder of the Ur III state (2112–2004 BC) is traditionally considered to be the king Ur-Nammu who assumed the title “King of Sumer and Akkad” (i.e. king of southern and northern Babylonia), and thus claimed to rule over both lands. The true organizer of the Ur III state, however, was Šulgi, Ur-Nammu’s son and successor. During his 48-year-long reign, Šulgi carried out several important reforms, laying the foundations of a highly complex state, ultimately ruled by its divine king. This state, which experienced a rapid territorial expansion during the second half of the reign of Šulgi, was to rule a territory roughly corresponding to today’s central Iraq for the last century of the third millennium BC. Outside this central core,² the Ur III state had well established contacts with all major cities in the Middle East from the Mediterranean coast in the west to the Zagros mountains in Iran in the east. These, sometimes very important and powerful, cities outside the central core of the state acted as either independent trading partners, or as subordinate taxpayers of the Ur III state (see text no. 3). Different products were collected/bought from these cities and delivered to highly specialized administrative units within the core, such as the livestock center Puzriš-Dagan. The economic units further distributed the products to the temples or other official institutions in the cities in the heartland of the state. Side by side with these texts recording the “global” economy of the ancient Middle East, thousands of documents recording the local administration can be

traced to a few such cities or centers in Mesopotamia, i.e. mainly Puzriš-Dagan, Lagaš/Girsu,³ the religious center Nippur, Umma or the state's capital Ur.⁴ Through the texts from these sites, however, we know the names of many other still unidentified cities and centers of the Ur III state.

Since the ancient scribes of Ur III usually wrote down the year, the month and, in some cases, the day when the tablets were composed (or when the recorded transaction was supposed to take place), the information of the tablets can most successfully be studied in a chronological context. Needless to say, such detailed studies of the state administration provide invaluable information concerning the region's social and economic history. The majority of the Ur III tablets come from illicit excavations and are usually acquired through dealers without any further documentation. The origin of such acquired texts can in most cases be determined since the different cities used different names for the months of the year. Also, the general structure of the documents, prosopographical or toponomastic data, as well as the usage of particular terms/expressions may tell us where the tablets were written.⁵ Bearing all this in mind, it seems obvious that the material from the Ur III period gives a unique opportunity to reconstruct one of ancient history's most complex societies, one that laid the foundation for all later civilizations in the Middle East.

CATALOGUE OF THE TEXTS

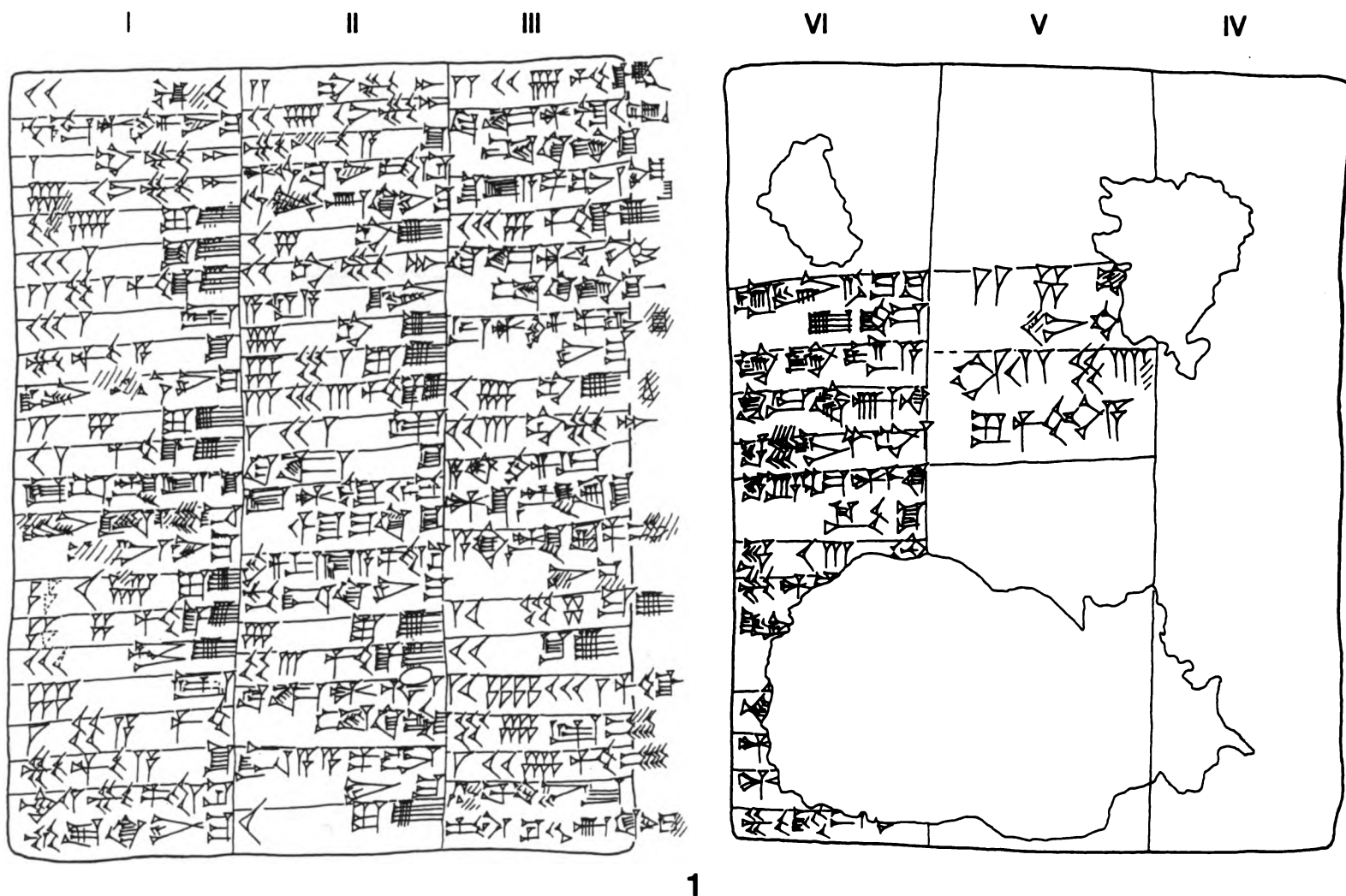
No.	Collection no.	Date	Prov.	Description	Remarks
1.	MM 1977:14	ŠS 6/i–xii ^{II}	PD	Livestock from Urkununna received by various individuals.	Year account
2.	MM 1977:18	AS 4/viii/–	PD	Livestock from Abbašaga received by Ur-mes (governor of Uru-sagrig).	mu-DU lugal
3.	MM 1977:19A	Š 47/ix/–	PD	Livestock from Mari, Uršu and Ebla disbursed by Naša. Aradmu is the conveyer.	šu-gid ₂
4.	MM 1977:17	Š 42/iii/–	PD	Livestock disbursed in Nippur by Nalu. Aradmu is the conveyer.	su-gid ₂
5.	MM 1977:21	Š 44/xii/–	PD	Metal (and stone) objects from <i>Beli-ili</i> received by <i>Ea-ili</i> in Puzriš-Dagan.	Treasure archive
6.	MM 1961:22	No date	Um	Letter order listing wages(?) to be given from the gur zid ₂ -da to different reed workers.	
7.	MM 1977:15	ŠS 7/xii/–	Um	Copper nails for doors weighed by Inimanizi. Foreman: Lugal-kuzu. Responsible: Lu-Inanna	
8.	MM 1969:19	AS 5/viii/–	Um	Sacrifice(?) of two grass-fed sheep as the "contribution of a day".	
9.	MM 1961:21	Š 40 ^{III} /viii/–	Um	Garments from Dingira weighed by the governor.	
10.	MM 1977:20	Š 36/–/–	Um	Livestock from various individuals for siskur ₂ rituals. Sealed: governor.	siskur ₂
11.	MM 1977:19B	ŠS 5/x/–	Um	Lard to(?) various individuals from Šarakam by the orders of Ikalla. Sealed: governor, Ludugga.	

Date: Š = Šulgi (2094–2047 BC); AS = Amar-Suen (2046–2038); ŠS = Šu-Suen (2037–2029).

Prov.: PD = Puzriš-Dagan; Um = Umma.

Since the drawings of the tablets are made in their actual size, I have not included the dimensions of the tablets. Numbers and fractions of numbers as well as capacity measures have been transliterated and translated following Englund 1990, xiv–xvii. Calculations of measurements with approximate metric equivalents are in this article as follows:

Measure of capacity:					Measure of weight:				
gur	barig	ban₂	sila₃	metric	gu₂	ma-na	gin₂	še	metric
1	5	30	300	300 <i>l.</i>	1	60	3600	64800	30 <i>kg</i>
–	1	6	60	60 <i>l.</i>	–	1	60	10800	0.5 <i>kg.</i>
–	–	1	10	10 <i>l.</i>	–	–	1	180	8.33 <i>g.</i>
–	–	–	1	1 <i>l.</i>	–	–	–	1	0.05 <i>g.</i>



1

TEXTS FROM PUZRIŠ-DAGAN

Text 1. (MM 1977:14)

The first text is an annual record of the amount of livestock distributed from Puzriš-Dagan near Nippur to different cities in the central part of the Ur III state. Puzriš-Dagan, founded by king Šulgi, played an essential part in the extensive taxation system (the so-called *bala* service), likewise introduced by Šulgi, which served to collect, process and distribute the state revenues.⁶ Puzriš-Dagan, working as a livestock fund for the Ur III state, delivered livestock to the cities in the core of the Ur III state and could in return expect to receive different products, such as cereals, reeds, timber, from other centers specializing in those products.⁷ It should be noted that the livestock brought to Puzriš-Dagan came from different cities on the periphery of the state and it seems as if the Ur III state exercised some kind of political control over these cities.⁸

M. Sigrist has recently argued that the animals recorded in the Puzriš-Dagan archive were not necessarily brought to the city, but rather transported from their breeding places directly to their final destinations, and that Puzriš-Dagan only served as an administrative center for the accounts of the animals.⁹ If this reasonable theory has any merit, it would mean that only some animals were physically brought to the city. These would include e.g. the ones destined for the kitchens of the city (see text 3



and 4 below), whereas others probably never entered the city more than as economic figures in its huge bureaucratic archives.

I. Transliteration and translation of MM 1977:14

Obv. I: ⁽¹⁾20 ^{munus} ašgar ⁽²⁾Nu-ur₂-^dIM i₃-dab₅ ⁽³⁾1 gu₄ mu-2 ⁽⁴⁾8 ab₂ mu-2 ⁽⁵⁾49 udu u₂ ⁽⁶⁾31 u₈ u₂ ⁽⁷⁾02.41 maš₂-gal u₂ ⁽⁸⁾31 sila₄ ⁽⁹⁾mu bala-a-še₃ ⁽¹⁰⁾Lugal-^dUtu₁ i₃-dab₅ ⁽¹¹⁾02.05 udu u₂ ⁽¹²⁾11 maš₂-gal u₂ ⁽¹³⁾E₂-AB-^den-lil₂-la₂-še₃ ⁽¹⁴⁾Lugal-a₂-^lzi₁-da / ^lšabra₁ i₃-dab₅ ⁽¹⁵⁾04.19 udu u₂ ⁽¹⁶⁾04.04 maš₂-gal u₂ ⁽¹⁷⁾30 ud₅ u₂ ⁽¹⁸⁾7 sila₄ ⁽¹⁹⁾01.43 maš₂ ⁽²⁰⁾mu bala-a-še₃ ⁽²¹⁾Arad₂-mu ensi₂ / Gir₂-su^{ki} i₃-dab₅

II: ⁽¹⁾2 gu₄ mu-2 ⁽²⁾29 ab₂ mu-2 ⁽³⁾mu bala-a-še₃ ⁽⁴⁾dUTU-^{ba-ni} ensi₂ / Sippar^{ki} i₃-dab₅ ⁽⁵⁾15 gu₄ u₂ ⁽⁶⁾20 gu₄ mu-3 ⁽⁷⁾a-ru-a lugal ⁽⁸⁾8 gu₄ u₂ ⁽⁹⁾06.51 udu u₂ ⁽¹⁰⁾03.33 maš₂-gal u₂ ⁽¹¹⁾01.21 sila₄ ⁽¹²⁾sa₂-du₁₁-še₃ ⁽¹³⁾E₂-^dNin-^lsun₂ / U₃-suh₅^{ki}-še₃ ⁽¹⁴⁾Im-^{lik}-E₂-a ensi₂ / Mar₂-da^{ki} i₃-dab₅ ⁽¹⁵⁾07.00 udu u₂ ⁽¹⁶⁾43 maš₂-gal u₂ ⁽¹⁷⁾sa₂-du₁₁ ^dInanna / Unug^{ki}-ga-še₃ ⁽¹⁸⁾Da-a-a šabra / i₃-dab₅ ⁽¹⁹⁾10 udu u₂

III: ⁽¹⁾02.28 maš₂-gal u₂ ^l«X»₁ ⁽²⁾sa₂-du₁₁ ^dNin-sun₂ «DIŠ^(inv.)» / Unug^{ki}-ga-še₃ ⁽³⁾Šu-E₂-a šabra i₃-dab₅ «ŠU» ⁽⁴⁾36 maš₂-gal u₂ ⁽⁵⁾sa₂-du₁₁ An-^lnu^l-ni-^ltum₁ / Unug^{ki}-ga-še₃ «AŠ^(inv.)» ⁽⁶⁾Ur-^dIškur šabr^la «ŠE₃»₁ / i₃-dab₅

(7)18 gu₄ u₂ «DIŠ^(inv.)» (8)23 gu₄ mu-3 (9)a-ša₃ im Ur-^dŠu-^dEN.ZU-še₃ (10)A-mur-^dEN.ZU ša[bra] / i₃-dab₅
 (11)10.54 udu u₂ (12)20 [u₈] u₂ (13)18.31 maš₂-gal (14)58 sila₄ gaba (15)01.28 maš₂ gaba (16)Ha-ba-lu₅-ge₂ / ensi₂
 Adab^{ki} i₃-dab₅

Rev. IV: (blank)

V: (1)02.04 g[u₄] / ab₂ hi-[a] (2)1.12.44 / udu maš₂ hi-a

VI: (1)kišib₃ lu₂ nig₂-dab₅-ba-/ke₄-ne (2)gur₁₁-gur₁₁-ra-a (3)ki Ur-ku₃-nun-na (4)iti še-KIN-ku₅-ta (5)iti diri ezem
^dMe-ki-gal₂-še₃ (6)iti 13-[kam] (7)mu ^dŠ[u-^dEN.ZU] / lug[al Urim₅-ma-ke₄] (8)n[a-ru₂-a] (9)^d[En-lil₂] (10)^d[Nin-
 lil₂-ra] (11)mu-ne-[ru₂]

Obv. I: (1)20 female kids, (2)*Nur-Adad* received; (3)1 two-year-old ox, (4)8 two-year-old cows, (5)49 grass-fed sheep, (6)31 grass-fed ewes, (7)161 grass-fed full-grown goats, (8)31 lambs, (9)for the bala service, (10)*Lugal-Utu* received; (11)125 grass-fed sheep, (12)11 grass-fed full-grown goats, (13)for E₂.AB of the god Enlil, (14)*Lugal-azida*, the Šabra administrator, received; (15)259 grass-fed sheep, (16)244 grass-fed full-grown goats, (17)30 grass-fed she-goats, (18)7 lambs, (19)103 goats, (20)for the bala service, (21)*Aradmu*, the governor of the city of Girsu, received;

II: (1)2 two-year-old oxen, (2)29 two-year-old cows, (3)for the bala service, (4)*Šamaš-bani*, the governor (of) the city of Sippar received; (5)15 grass-fed oxen, (6)20 three-year-old oxen, (7)(for) a royal (votive) gift, (8)8 grass-fed oxen, (9)411 grass-fed sheep, (10)213 grass-fed full-grown goats, (11)81 lambs, (12)for the regular offering (13)to the temple of the god Ninsun of the city of Uruk, (14)*Imlik-Ea*, the governor of the city of Marad, received; (15)420 grass-fed sheep, (16)43 grass-fed full-grown goats, (17)for the regular offering to the goddess Inanna of the city of Uruk, (18)*Dayya*, the Šabra administrator, received; (19)10 grass-fed sheep,

III: (1)148 grass-fed full-grown goats, (2)for the regular offering to the god Ninsun of the city of Uruk, (3)*Šu-Ea*, the Šabra administrator, received; (4)36 grass-fed full-grown goats, (5)for the regular offering to the goddess *Annunitum* of the city of Uruk, (6)*Ur-Iškur*, the Šabra administrator, received; (7)18 grass-fed oxen, (8)23 three-year-old oxen, (9)for the field Im (of) Ur-*Šu-Suen*, (10)*Amur-Suen*, the Šabra administrator, received; (11)654 grass-fed sheep, (12)20 grass-fed ewes, (13)1111 full-grown goats, (14)58 breast lambs, (15)88 breast goats, (16)*Habaluge*, the governor (of) the city of Adab, received;

Rev. IV: –

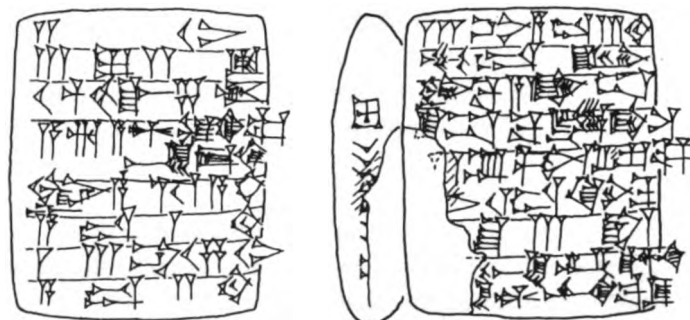
V: (1)(total:) 124 mixed oxen (and) cows, (2)4364 mixed sheep (and) goats;

VI: (1)Sealed by the men responsible for the nig₂-dab₅-ba, (2)in the account(?), (3)from Urkununna; (4)From the month of the barley harvest (i), (5)to the intercalary month of the festival of the god Mekigal (xii^{ll}), (6)that is 13 months; (7)The year: *Šu-Suen*, the king of Ur, (11)erected (8)the grand stele (9–10)of the god Enlil (and) of the goddess Ninlil. (ŠŠ 6)

Comments

Some vague, obscure signs on the edge of the tablet (Col. III: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7. The signs in lines 2, 5 and 7 are inverted) seem to be unrelated to the main text.

- Col. I:9:** See W.W. Hallo: "When the Ensi personally delivered or received the bala, the notation mu-bala-a-še, 'for/as (his own) bala,' seems to have been used."¹⁰
- Col. I:13:** E₂-AB was a sanctuary in Girsu dedicated to the god Enlil.¹¹ According to A.R. George the reading of the name is unknown.¹² A possible reading would perhaps be e₂-eš₃ with the meaning "temple-house" or "temple (and) house".
- Col. I:18:** See comment under Col. II:15.
- Col. II:13:** u₃-suh₃/^{gi}u₃-suh₃ (*ašūhum* "pine(tree)") was Ninsun's cult city in the Ur III period.¹³ Apparently, the city administration was located, at least partly, in the city of Marad during this period of time.
- Col. II:15:** Considering the total number of udu/maš₂ in Col. IV:2, the translation 420 (i.e. 07.00) instead of 7 (i.e. 00.07) is adopted, while (because of the generally higher number of udu u₂ than of sila₄ in the text) the seven vertical wedges in Col. I:18 are understood as 7 rather than 420. It should be noted that the total amount of udu/maš₂ would, of course, also be correct if we reversed the translation and read 420 sila₄ in Col. I:18 and 7 udu u₂ in Col. II:15.
- Col. III:5-6:** For the reconstruction of these lines, see the almost identical passage: ⁽¹⁾21 udu u₂ ⁽²⁾maš₂-gal u₂ ⁽³⁾sa₂-du₁₁ *An-nu-ni-tum* unug^{ki}-ga-še₃ ⁽⁴⁾Ur-^dIškur šabra ⁽⁵⁾i₃-dab₃ in a text dated to ŠS 5.¹⁴ The goddess *Annunitum* was especially associated with childbirth.
- Col. III:9:** I do not know any other texts mentioning this field. The personal name Ur-^dŠu-^dEN.ZU is however quite often attested.¹⁵
- Col. V:1:** I.e. 37 cows and 87 oxen.
- Col. V:2:** I.e. 20 female kids, 30 she-goats, 51 ewes, 177 lambs, 1928 sheep and 2158 goats.
- Col. VI:1:** See MSL: lu₂ nig₂-[da]b-ba = *ša nig₂-da-ab-bi*.¹⁶ CAD translates *nigdabbu* or *nindabû* "cereal offering, food offering, provisions" and *ša nigdabbi* "person in charge of *n*. offerings".¹⁷
- Col. VI:2:** gur₁₁-gur₁₁-ra-(a) (*kamāru* (*ša₂ ma-ku-ri*)) lit. "heaping up (of property)" is a – rarely attested – economic term in the Ur III texts perhaps denoting "capital, account".¹⁸ The well-known official Urkununna in our text should be added to the Puzriš-Dagan officials (i.e. Enlilla, Intaea, Aba-Enlilge) listed by M. Sigrist as connected to the term.¹⁹
- Col. VI:3:** This well-known Puzriš-Dagan official was involved in livestock and cattle transactions from the end of the reign of Amar-Suen until the first years of Ibbi-Suen.²⁰
- Col. VI:4:** Since the Mesopotamian months had either 29 or 30 days, the calendar year was considerably shorter (only 354 days) than the solar year. Thus, in order to have, for example, the month of the harvest (še-KIN-ku₃) appear at the same time as the real harvest appeared, an intercalary month (*diri* ...) was inserted whenever it was considered necessary.²¹ The question of the reading (and meaning) of the month še-KIN-ku₃ is still not completely solved.²²



2

Text 2. (MM 1977:18)

Our second text also refers to the economic distribution of livestock from the city of Puzriš-Dagan, this time to the city of Urusagrig, perhaps found east of Nippur in the center of the mainland of the Ur III state. It describes how Abbašaga is delivering different domestic animals to Ur-mes, the governor of Urusagrig, mentioning at the same time that the animals originally were a so-called mu-DU delivery of the king. Ur-mes should be added to the list of T. Ozaki, who studied the meaning of “mu-DU lugal”, with very few officials attested as receiving (or delivering) the mu-DU lugal livestock.²³

During the reign of Amar-Suen – the successor of Šulgi – the economic system of Puzriš-Dagan underwent important changes. From the first year of Amar-Suen, only one huge bureau for receipt of animals remained, with Abbašaga as its new main official (replacing the receiving and delivering official Naša). All animals were received by Abbašaga, who then either transferred them further to other officials or, as in our text, directly distributed them to their final destinations. Abbašaga could not keep his position as single head of the organization for long: in the 9th month of the 3rd year of the reign of Amar-Suen, the deliveries to the breeding officials of Puzriš-Dagan were conducted by the ambitious official Intaea. Intaea had an excellent career in front of him, and it seems as if he was controlling the whole organization only a few years later in the reign of Šu-Suen.²⁴

2. Transliteration and translation of MM 1977:18

Obv. ⁽¹⁾2 ab₂ ⁽²⁾3 udu 2 u₈ ⁽³⁾10 maš₂-gal 5 ud₅ ⁽⁴⁾a-ri-a ^dNin-hur-sag / Nibru^{ki} ⁽⁵⁾giri₃ A-hu-a-hi ⁽⁶⁾a-ra₂ l-kam
⁽⁷⁾01.03 gu₄ 14 ab₂ ⁽⁸⁾a-ra₂ 2-kam

Rev. ⁽⁹⁾3 gu₄ a-ra₂ 3-kam ⁽¹⁰⁾mu-DU lugal ⁽¹¹⁾giri₃ Ba-a-ga kurušda ⁽¹²⁾ki Ab-ba-ša₆-ga-ta('SILA₃) ⁽¹³⁾[U]r-mes
ensi₂ Uru-sag-/[r]ig^{ki} i₃-dab₅ ⁽¹⁴⁾[iti] šu-eš-ša ⁽¹⁵⁾[m]u En-mah-gal-an-na / [e]n ^dNanna ba-hug

Left side: ⁽¹⁶⁾[02.45 gu₄] 20 udu

Obv. ⁽¹⁾2 cows, ⁽²⁾3 sheep, 2 ewes, ⁽³⁾10 full-grown goats, 5 she-goats, ⁽⁴⁾(for) a gift (to) the goddess Ninhursag of the city of Nippur, ⁽⁵⁾responsible: *Ahuahi*, ⁽⁶⁾the first time; ⁽⁷⁾63 oxen, 14 cows, ⁽⁸⁾the second time;

Rev. ⁽⁹⁾3 oxen, the third time; ⁽¹⁰⁾a mu-DU delivery (of) the king, ⁽¹¹⁾responsible: Baga, the fattener; ⁽¹²⁾From Abbašaga, ⁽¹³⁾Ur-mes, the governor (of) the city of Urusagrig, received; ⁽¹⁴⁾The month of the šuešša (viii); ⁽¹⁵⁾The year: Enmahgalanna, the high priestess of the god Nanna, was installed. (AS 4)



Left side: ⁽¹⁶⁾(total:) 165 cattle, 20 small cattle

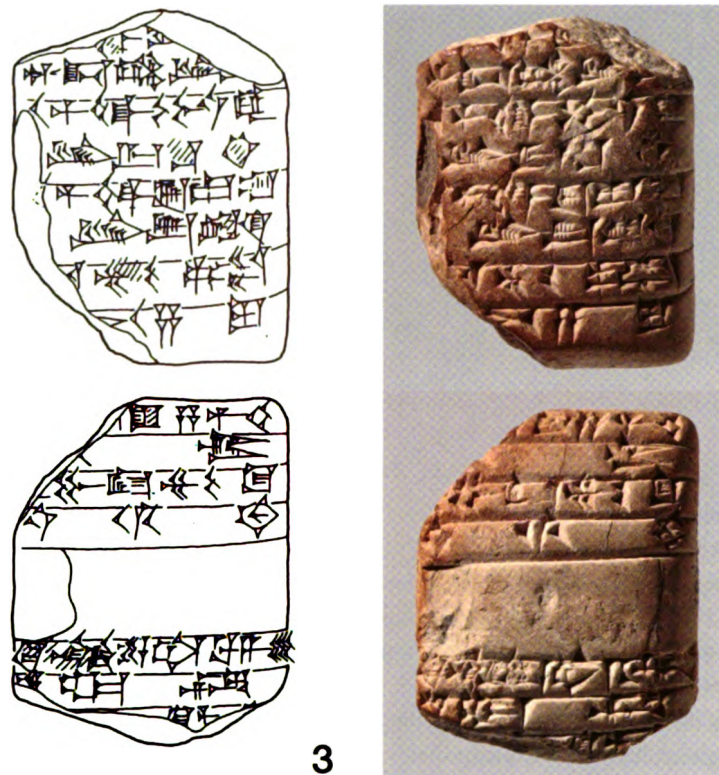
Comments

Line 6: Since the a-ra₂ 1-kam in this text seems to mean that the amount of animals should be multiplied by one, a-ra₂ 2-kam (line 8) by two, etc. (see comment on line 16), the expression should perhaps be translated “one time”, “two times”, etc., in spite of the grammatical construction as ordinal number. I do not know of any other examples where the expression a-ra₂ n.-kam is used in this way.

Line 11: I do not know of any other references to the animal fattener (kurušda) Baga. Note however a certain Baga without any stated profession delivering sheep and cows in other contemporary texts from Puzriš-Dagan, perhaps the same individual.²⁵

Line 13: Ur-mes, the governor of Urusagrig, is well known.²⁶

Line 16: The “165 cattle” consists of 30 cows (= 2 cows (a-ra₂ 1-kam) + 14 cows (a-ra₂ 2-kam)) and 135 oxen (= 63 oxen (a-ra₂ 2-kam) + 3 oxen (a-ra₂ 3-kam)) whereas 3 sheep, 2 ewes, 5 she-goats and 10 full-grown goats compose the “20 small cattle” (note comment on line 6).



3

Text 3. (MM 1977:19A)

Our third text documents the paying/delivering of livestock to the city of Puzriš-Dagan from the cities of Mari, Uršu and Ebla. These three very important cities are found far to the west of the central core of the Ur III state within the borders of modern Syria. The livestock were sent as a *šu-gid₂* to the “kitchen” (*e₂ muhal-dim*) of Puzriš-Dagan where they most likely were slaughtered and given as food rations to the officials working in city.²⁷ The question of the true nature of these – undoubtedly wealthy and powerful – states in the west and their relations to each other and to the Ur III state has not been completely solved.²⁸ According to D.I. Owen, who exhaustively studied the so-called Syrian city states in the Ur III period, the cities in ancient Syria should be regarded as quasi-independent kingdoms. Owen further argues that there is no secure evidence that the kings of the Ur III state exercised any strong authority in the region.²⁹ This view has recently been questioned by T. Maeda, who considered many Syrian cities as vassal states of the Ur III state.³⁰ According to Maeda, the use of the Sumerian terms *lu₂ kig₂-gi₄-a* “envoy” and *ensi₂* “governor” are to be taken as indicators that a city should be regarded as a vassal state. However, the use of Sumerian terms for officials in foreign cities does not prove that the cities were dependent upon the Ur III state any more than the use of French words in the English language (such as envoy or governor) prove that England is (or has been) a subordinate of France. Nor is it surprising that the Sumerian scribes in Puzriš-Dagan were using Sumerian terms for officials in different foreign cities. Other local terms for those officials were probably used within the foreign city states and presumably also used for the Sumerian officials working in the Sumerian cities of the Ur III state.

Still, our text, together with several other similar texts, clearly shows that important cities in ancient

Syria were liable to different payments or deliveries to the Ur III state, and this can only be explained if we assume that the Ur III state exercised some kind of influence in the area. The extent of this influence and if we can talk about political control is difficult to determine, especially since important terms such as šu-gid₂ remain somewhat obscure.

The city of Mari, located along the Euphrates in the east of modern Syria close to the border with Iraq, was of exceptional importance during the third millennium BC with close connections to the pre-Sargonic kings of Ebla. During the Ur III period, the city was no doubt one of the most important in the area, with fertile soil combined with water from both the Euphrates and the Habur which greatly extended the acreage which could be irrigated. With its river port, the city could collect taxes on all the goods which passed along the Euphrates between Lower Mesopotamia and ancient Syria with its Mediterranean and Anatolian contacts. Moreover, it was the head of the desert route that connected Upper Mesopotamia to the important city states in southern Syria. The French archaeologists – who have been continuously excavating the city since 1933 – have uncovered more than 20,000 Old Babylonian letters and administrative texts, for which the city is best known today.

The exact location of the northeast Syrian city Uršu is not completely certain.³¹ Uršu, well known also from later Old Babylonian or Assyrian texts, is mentioned as an important station in the Euphrates valley between Aššur and the Old Assyrian trading center of Kaniš in Anatolia. As an important center in the Ur III period, it was closely connected to Halab (modern Aleppo), Ebla (Tell Mardikh) as well as to the Hurrian empire.³²

The famous economic and administrative center of Ebla was located in the fertile plain of northern Syria about 55 kilometers southwest of Halab. In spite of the fact that the city undoubtedly was an important trading partner of the Ur III empire, the city is most renowned due to the c. 15,000 tablets or fragments of tablets found by Italian archaeologists in the years 1974–76.³³ These pre-Sargonic cuneiform tablets were written in a Semitic language (Eblaite) and reveal a very complex society in the first half of the third millennium side by side with the Sumerian city states in Mesopotamia.

3. Transliteration and translation of MM 1977:19A

Obv. ⁽¹⁾[X ma]š₂-[gal] ⁽²⁾[š-me]-/Da-gan lu₂ [Ma-ri₂^{ki}] ⁽³⁾10 maš₂-gal Bu-UD-ra / lu₂ Ur-šu^{ki} ⁽⁴⁾[10] maš-gal Zu-ri₂-um / lu₂ Eb-la^{ki} ⁽⁵⁾[Ar]ad₂-mu maškim ⁽⁶⁾[X a]b₂ 14 udu

Rev. ⁽⁶⁾[X] u₈ 4 maš₂ ⁽⁷⁾[X]-[10] ud₃ ⁽⁸⁾[šu]-gid₂ e₂ muhaldim-še₃ ⁽⁹⁾u₄ 10 la₂-1-kam ⁽¹⁰⁾(blank space) ⁽¹¹⁾ki Na-ša₆-ta ba-zi ⁽¹²⁾iti ezem mah ⁽¹³⁾[mu us₂-sa] Ki-[maš^{ki}] / [ba-hul]

Obv. ⁽¹⁾X full-grown goats (from) *I[šme]-/Dagan*, of the man [of the city of Mari], ⁽²⁾10 full-grown goats (from) Budur, of the man of the city of Uršu, ⁽³⁾10 full-grown goats (from) *Zurium*, of the man of the city of Ebla, ⁽⁴⁾Aradmu is the conveyer; ⁽⁵⁾X cows, 14 sheep,

Rev. ⁽⁶⁾X ewes, 4 goats, ⁽⁷⁾X she-goats, ⁽⁸⁾as a šu-gid₂-payment(?) for the kitchen; ⁽⁹⁾day 9. ⁽¹⁰⁾– ⁽¹¹⁾Disbursed by Naša; ⁽¹²⁾The month of the great festival (ix); ⁽¹³⁾The year after the year: The city of Kimaš was destroyed. (Š 47)

Comments

Line 2: Most likely a variant writing for the well-known official Bu-du-ur₂ from the city of Uršu.³⁴

Line 3: Almost certainly the same official as the well-known transport trustee (lu₂ na) and envoy (lu₂ kig₂-gi₄-a) *Zu-ri/ri₂-im* who was responsible for deliveries from Ebla to the central core of the Ur III

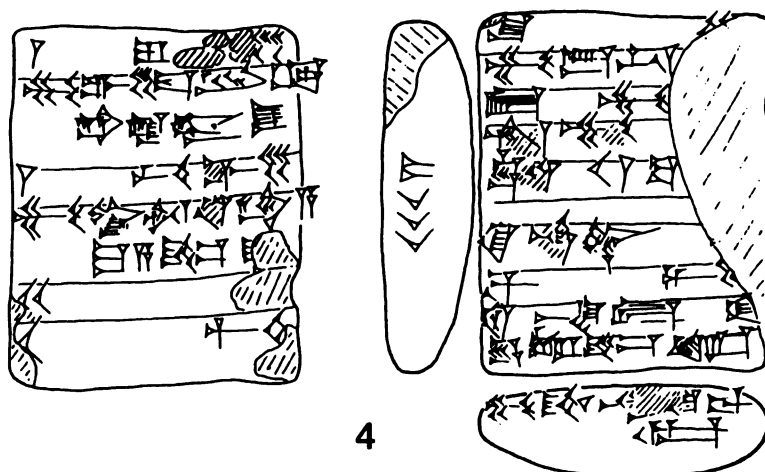
state.³⁵ *Zurim/Zurium* is previously only securely attested in the year Š 46.³⁶

It should be noted that *Zurium* himself was not “the man of Ebla” but rather employed by him. It is not possible to differentiate between “*Zurium*, the man of Ebla” and “*Zurium*, of the man of Ebla”, but other texts with the official clearly show that only the latter translation can be employed.³⁷ The many references to lu_2 Eb-la^{ki}, lu_2 Ma-ri^{ki}, lu_2 Ur-šu^{ki}, etc. without any preceding personal names³⁸ show that this expression denotes an office or a title of its own, probably the local ruler of the city in question.³⁹ If the man of Ebla was represented by an official in these texts, it is logical to assume that also the local rulers of Uršu, Mari, etc. had their representatives (i.e. *Išme-Dagan*, *Budur*, etc.).

Line 4: See the well-known *maškim* Aradmu who was delivering animals to the e_2 muhaldim in Puzriš-Dagan over a period of 26 years (from Š 43 to IS 2).⁴⁰

Line 7: Also the reconstruction [X la_2]-[1] “10 minus 1” would be possible. In any case, the position of the partly visible sign suggests that it is preceded by some other sign(s).

Line 8: The meaning of $šu-gid_2$ is uncertain but it seems to be clear that the expression denotes some kind of delivery.⁴¹



Text 4. (MM 1977:17)

Our fourth text is another example of a $šu-gid_2$ delivery of livestock, this time disbursed by the animal fattener Nalu⁴² to the kitchen in the city of Nippur. Nalu – as a Puzriš-Dagan official – usually disbursed livestock to the temples in Nippur,⁴³ but also to the temples in Ur.⁴⁴ The tablet UET 3: 1224⁴⁵ from AS 6 discovered in Ur recording Nalu as receiving (i_3 -dab₃) animals from the Nippur(?) official Halhalla,⁴⁶ is therefore somewhat disturbing and raises the question whether Nalu sometimes was working in the city of Ur as well as in Puzriš-Dagan.

Nippur was situated very near Puzriš-Dagan on the east branch of the Euphrates in the middle of the Ur III state. It was founded in the Ubaid period (about 5000 BC) and remained occupied (with some possible brief interruptions) for the entire history of ancient Mesopotamia.⁴⁷ Although it was a most important city and religious center during the whole history of Mesopotamia, Nippur seems to have been most prosperous during the Ur III period.

The text is particularly interesting because of the rare – or unique – groups of people and workers and their salaries(?) mentioned in lines 2 and 4.



4. Transliteration and translation of MM 1977:17

Obv. ⁽¹⁾1 udu niga ⁽²⁾mu MAR.TU lu₂ zi₂-bi-la-tum-še₃ ⁽³⁾1 maš₂-gal niga ⁽⁴⁾mu šagina [ki]-bi-a dur₂-a-ne-š[e₃] ⁽⁵⁾20 [udu] ⁽⁶⁾10 maš₂

Rev. ⁽⁷⁾šu-[gid₂] ⁽⁸⁾mu aga₃-uš-[ne-še₃] ⁽⁹⁾e₂ muhaldim-[še₃] ⁽¹⁰⁾Arad₂-mu [maškim] ⁽¹¹⁾iti u₄ 11 ba-[zal]
⁽¹²⁾(blank line) ⁽¹³⁾ki Na-lu₃-[ta] ⁽¹⁴⁾ba-zi ⁽¹⁵⁾ša₃ Nibru^{ki} ⁽¹⁶⁾iti u₅-bi₂-ku₂

Under side: ⁽¹⁷⁾mu Ša-aš-[ru]^{ki} ba-/hul

Left side: ⁽¹⁸⁾32

Obv. ⁽¹⁾1 barley-fed sheep, ⁽²⁾for the MAR.TU, the men of the consignment(?); ⁽³⁾1 full-grown barley-fed goat, ⁽⁴⁾for the ones assigned in the quarter of the Šagina(-garrison)(?); ⁽⁵⁾20 sheep, ⁽⁶⁾10 goats,

Rev. ⁽⁷⁾as a šu-gid₂-payment, ⁽⁸⁾for the soldiers, ⁽⁹⁾to the kitchen, ⁽¹⁰⁾Aradmu is the conveyer, ⁽¹¹⁾day 11. ⁽¹²⁾– ⁽¹³⁾–
⁽¹⁴⁾Disbursed by Nalu, ⁽¹⁵⁾in Nippur; ⁽¹⁶⁾The month of the eating of the Ubi-bird (iii);

Under side: ⁽¹⁷⁾The year: The city of Šašrum was destroyed. (Š 42)

Left side: ⁽¹⁸⁾(total:) 32

Comments

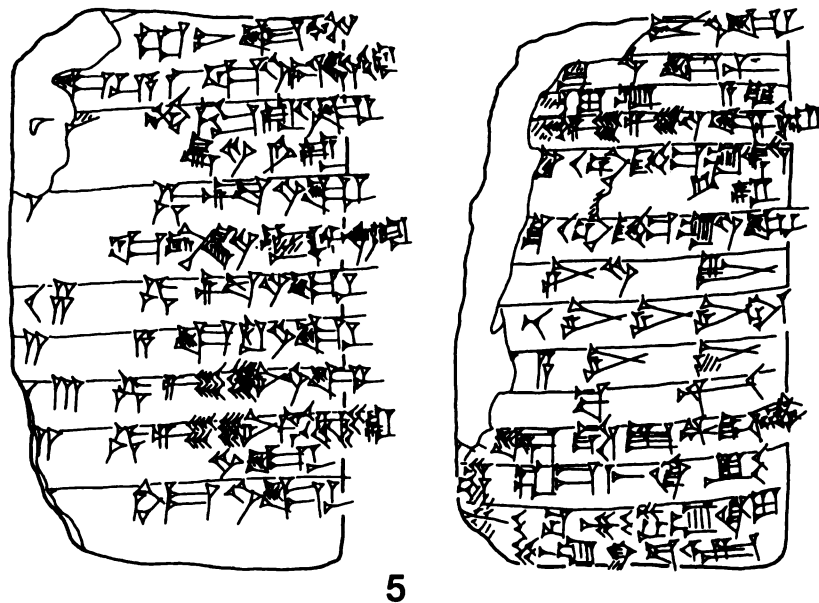
Line 2: MAR.TU seems to denote a group of people, perhaps the Amorites, here employed as “the men of the consignment”, a work for which they were paid one barley-fed sheep. The MAR.TU employed

in a similar context is also found in a text published by A.L. Oppenheim (rev. II): ⁽¹⁰⁾giri₃ Ur-am₃-ma, ⁽¹¹⁾Inim-Šara₂ u₃ Ku-li ⁽¹²⁾MAR.TU lu₂ maškim-me,⁴⁸ perhaps to be translated: “responsible: Ur-amma; Inim-Šara and Kuli, the MAR.TU, the men of the maškim”. The u₃ “and” between Inim-Šara and Kuli is important since it shows that MAR.TU can not be understood as a personal name (i.e. “PNs, men of the maškim”⁴⁹), but must be a designation for Inim-Šara and Kuli or for Kuli alone.

The expression lu₂ zi₂-bi-la-tum, as far as I know, is not attested elsewhere. CAD translates *zabālu* “to carry, transport (a load), to deliver (goods to fulfill a tax obligation)”, which seems to fit the context of our text rather well. It is plausible that the lu₂ zi₂-bi-la-tum denotes some kind of low-status carrier, normally not mentioned in the texts, working under the supervision of the maškim.

Line 4: Literally: “of the Šagina (/šagina-ak/) – in its place (ki-bi-a), the ones assigned (/dur₂-a-ene/). For dur₂-a, see CAD *ašābu* (especially 4c “to make a person live or be in a place, to assign a residence to an official or a workman, to garrison soldiers, ...”). The use of the inanimate possessive suffix /bi/ “its” instead of the animate /ani/ “his/her” might suggest that šagina should be regarded as some kind of military office (i.e. the garrison) rather than an actual person in this context.⁵⁰

Line 10: For the conveyer Aradmu, well-known in Puzriš-Dagan texts, see also text no. 3.



Text 5. (MM 1977:21)

This text tells us how the Puzriš-Dagan official *Ea-ili* receives a number of very exclusive metal (and stone) objects, mainly weapons but also common tools as well as some more ceremonial objects traditionally connected to the cult and religion. The expensive and exceptional materials of some of the tools or objects show that they filled a symbolic/cultic or decorative role rather than a practical one.

The text belongs to the so-called treasure archive (“Schatzarchiv”) in Puzriš-Dagan that deals with precious metals and manufactured objects of these metals.⁵¹ According to W. Sallaberger, deliveries from other cities to the institution were always classified as mu-DU, and our text should therefore be considered a transaction



within the internal administration of Puzriš-Dagan.⁵² The text is very important since the receiving official *Ea-ili* is not previously known from the archive. It is possible that he was the predecessor of Lugal-kuzu who received metal and objects from other Puzriš-Dagan official between Š 46 and ŠS 8.⁵³ We may assume that the objects in our text later would be further disbursed (*ba-zi*), most likely by the official *DI.KU₅-mišar* who disbursed (and received) different weapons made of precious materials between Š 44 and AS 7.⁵⁴

5. Transliteration and translation of MM 1977:21

Obv. ⁽¹⁾[X] ^{urudu}kak-eme-gir₂ / zabar a-la₂ sag-e₃ ku₃-babbar gar-ra ⁽²⁾[X] gir₂ ur₂-ra zabar / ku₃-babbar gar-ra ⁽³⁾1 ha-ad zabar / sag-bi ku₃-babbar [dalla] nagga (AN.NA) gar-ra ⁽⁴⁾14 ha-ad zabar ⁽⁵⁾2 a-gu₃ g₂gir₂ zabar ⁽⁶⁾[1] 3 ha-zi-in zabar ⁽⁷⁾[X]+2 ha-zi-in gu₂-bir₅-ra / zabar ⁽⁸⁾[...]+[1] šita₂(REC 318) zabar

Rev. ⁽⁹⁾[X ga-li₂-t]um zabar ⁽¹⁰⁾[X ^{gis}]tukul zabar ⁽¹¹⁾[X] [ma] ^(?)-lu-um a-gug₂ ⁽¹²⁾[X g]ir₂ ⁽¹⁾zi-zi zabar gar-ra ⁽¹³⁾[X] šu-ul-bi₂-um ku₃-babbar / gar-ra ⁽¹⁴⁾[X] šu-ul-bi₂-um zabar ⁽¹⁵⁾[X] ^{na⁴}gur₁₀ ⁽¹⁶⁾[ki] Be-li₂-i₃-li₂-ta ⁽¹⁷⁾[E₂]-a-i₃-li₂ ⁽¹⁸⁾[šu] ba-ti ⁽¹⁹⁾[ša₃] Puzur₄-i^dDa-gan ⁽²⁰⁾iti ezem ^dMe-ki-gal₂ ⁽²¹⁾mu Si-mu-ru-um^{ki} Lu-/lu]-bu-um^{ki} ba-hul

Obv. ⁽¹⁾X blades of bronze for poignards, the a-la₂ (with) relief ornament, silver covered; ⁽²⁾X ur₂-ra-poignards of bronze, silver covered; ⁽³⁾1 scepter of bronze, its head of silver, the ring, tin covered; ⁽⁴⁾14 scepters of bronze; ⁽⁵⁾2 upper parts (of) stands(?) of bronze; ⁽⁶⁾13 axes of bronze; ⁽⁷⁾X gu₂-bir₅-ra-axes of bronze; ⁽⁸⁾X šita₂-weapons of bronze;

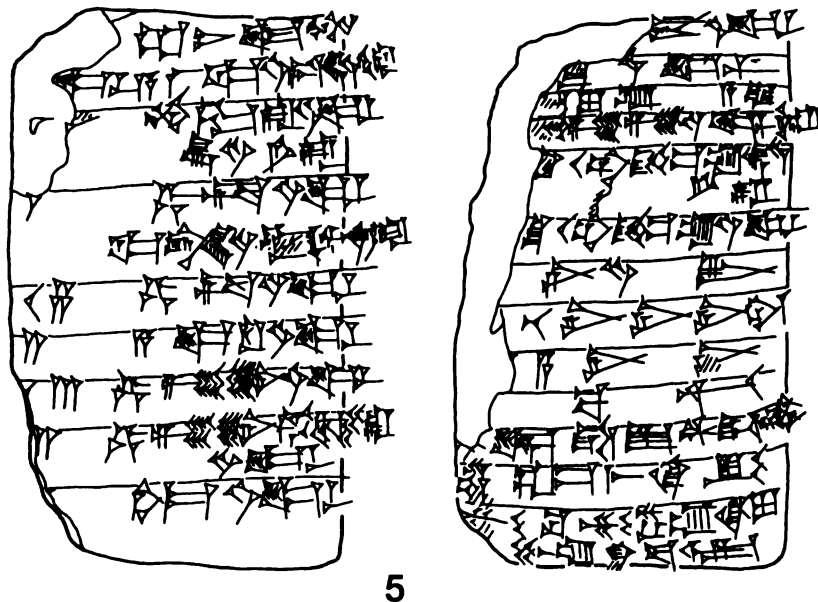
Rev. ⁽⁹⁾X ga-li₂-tum-weapons of bronze; ⁽¹⁰⁾X weapons of bronze, ⁽¹¹⁾decorated(?) (with) a-gug₂-stones; ⁽¹²⁾X flaying-knives, bronze covered, ⁽¹³⁾X šu-ul-bi₂-um, silver covered; ⁽¹⁴⁾X šu-ul-bi₂-um of bronze; ⁽¹⁵⁾X sickles of stone; ⁽¹⁶⁾from *Beli-ili*, ⁽¹⁷⁾*Ea-ili* ⁽¹⁸⁾received, ⁽¹⁹⁾in Puzriš-Dagan; ⁽²⁰⁾The month of the festival of the god Mekigal (xii); ⁽²¹⁾The year: The city of Simurum (and) the city of Lulubum were destroyed. (Š 44)

in a similar context is also found in a text published by A.L. Oppenheim (rev. II): ⁽¹⁰⁾giri₃ Ur-am₃-ma, ⁽¹¹⁾Inim-Šara₂ u₃ Ku-li ⁽¹²⁾MAR.TU lu₂ maškim-me,⁴⁸ perhaps to be translated: “responsible: Ur-amma; Inim-Šara and Kuli, the MAR.TU, the men of the maškim”. The u₃ “and” between Inim-Šara and Kuli is important since it shows that MAR.TU can not be understood as a personal name (i.e. “PNs, men of the maškim”⁴⁹), but must be a designation for Inim-Šara and Kuli or for Kuli alone.

The expression lu₂ zi₂-bi-la-tum, as far as I know, is not attested elsewhere. CAD translates *zabālu* “to carry, transport (a load), to deliver (goods to fulfill a tax obligation)”, which seems to fit the context of our text rather well. It is plausible that the lu₂ zi₂-bi-la-tum denotes some kind of low-status carrier, normally not mentioned in the texts, working under the supervision of the maškim.

Line 4: Literally: “of the Šagina (/šagina-ak/) – in its place (ki-bi-a), the ones assigned (/dur₂-a-ene/). For dur₂-a, see CAD *ašābu* (especially 4c “to make a person live or be in a place, to assign a residence to an official or a workman, to garrison soldiers, ...”). The use of the inanimate possessive suffix /bi/ “its” instead of the animate /ani/ “his/her” might suggest that šagina should be regarded as some kind of military office (i.e. the garrison) rather than an actual person in this context.⁵⁰

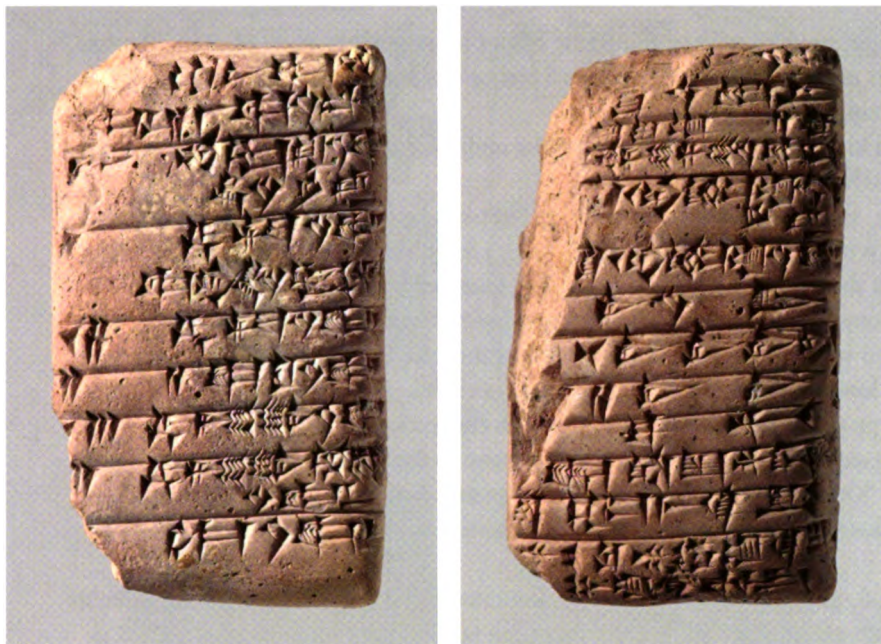
Line 10: For the conveyer Aradmu, well-known in Puzriš-Dagan texts, see also text no. 3.



Text 5. (MM 1977:21)

This text tells us how the Puzriš-Dagan official *Ea-ili* receives a number of very exclusive metal (and stone) objects, mainly weapons but also common tools as well as some more ceremonial objects traditionally connected to the cult and religion. The expensive and exceptional materials of some of the tools or objects show that they filled a symbolic/cultic or decorative role rather than a practical one.

The text belongs to the so-called treasure archive (“Schatzarchiv”) in Puzriš-Dagan that deals with precious metals and manufactured objects of these metals.⁵¹ According to W. Sallaberger, deliveries from other cities to the institution were always classified as mu-DU, and our text should therefore be considered a transaction



within the internal administration of Puzriš-Dagan.⁵² The text is very important since the receiving official *Ea-ili* is not previously known from the archive. It is possible that he was the predecessor of Lugal-kuzu who received metal and objects from other Puzriš-Dagan official between Š 46 and ŠS 8.⁵³ We may assume that the objects in our text later would be further disbursed (*ba-zi*), most likely by the official DI.KU₅-*mišar* who disbursed (and received) different weapons made of precious materials between Š 44 and AS 7.⁵⁴

5. Transliteration and translation of MM 1977:21

Obv. ⁽¹⁾[X] ^{urudu}kak-eme-gir₂ / zabar a-la₂ sag-e₃ ku₃-babbar gar-ra ⁽²⁾[X] gir₂ ur₂-ra zabar / ku₃-babbar gar-ra ⁽³⁾1 ha-ad zabar / sag-bi ku₃-babbar [dalla] nagga (AN.NA) gar-ra ⁽⁴⁾14 ha-ad zabar ⁽⁵⁾2 a-gu₃ gigir₂ zabar ⁽⁶⁾[1] 3 ha-zi-in zabar ⁽⁷⁾[X]+2 ha-zi-in gu₂-bir₅-ra / zabar ⁽⁸⁾[...]+[1] šita₂(REC 318) zabar

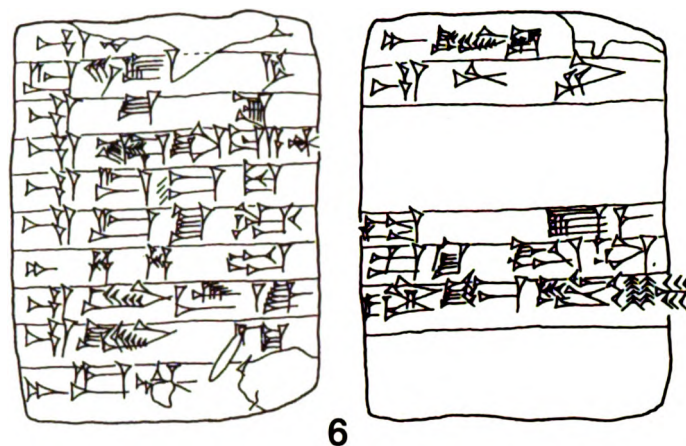
Rev. ⁽⁹⁾[X ga-li₂-t]um zabar ⁽¹⁰⁾[X ^{gis}]tukul zabar ⁽¹¹⁾[X] [ma] ⁽⁷⁾-lu-um a-gug₂ ⁽¹²⁾[X g]ir₂ ⁽¹⁾zi-zi zabar gar-ra ⁽¹³⁾[X] šu-ul-bi₂-um ku₃-babbar / gar-ra ⁽¹⁴⁾[X] šu-ul-bi₂-um zabar ⁽¹⁵⁾[X] ^{na4}gur₁₀ ⁽¹⁶⁾[ki] Be-li₂-i₃-li₂-ta ⁽¹⁷⁾[E₂]-a-i₃-li₂ ⁽¹⁸⁾[šu] ba-ti ⁽¹⁹⁾[ša₃] Puzur₄-i^dDa-gan ⁽²⁰⁾iti ezem ^dMe-ki-gal₂ ⁽²¹⁾mu Si-mu-ru-um^{ki} Lu-/lu]-bu-um^{ki} ba-hul

Obv. ⁽¹⁾X blades of bronze for poignards, the a-la₂ (with) relief ornament, silver covered; ⁽²⁾X ur₂-ra-poignards of bronze, silver covered; ⁽³⁾1 scepter of bronze, its head of silver, the ring, tin covered; ⁽⁴⁾14 scepters of bronze; ⁽⁵⁾2 upper parts (of) stands(?) of bronze; ⁽⁶⁾13 axes of bronze; ⁽⁷⁾X gu₂-bir₅-ra-axes of bronze; ⁽⁸⁾X šita₂-weapons of bronze;

Rev. ⁽⁹⁾X ga-li₂-tum-weapons of bronze; ⁽¹⁰⁾X weapons of bronze, ⁽¹¹⁾decorated(?) (with) a-gug₂-stones; ⁽¹²⁾X flaying-knives, bronze covered, ⁽¹³⁾X šu-ul-bi₂-um, silver covered; ⁽¹⁴⁾X šu-ul-bi₂-um of bronze; ⁽¹⁵⁾X sickles of stone; ⁽¹⁶⁾from *Beli-ili*, ⁽¹⁷⁾*Ea-ili* ⁽¹⁸⁾received, ⁽¹⁹⁾in Puzriš-Dagan; ⁽²⁰⁾The month of the festival of the god Mekigal (xii); ⁽²¹⁾The year: The city of Simurum (and) the city of Lulubum were destroyed. (Š 44)

Comments

- Line 1:** The kak-eme-gir₂ seem to refer to composite blades for poignards made of copper/bronze and silver.⁵⁵ The exact meanings of the metal object (perhaps a plaque), or the area (of a blade) a-la₂ or the sag-e₃ are still somewhat uncertain.⁵⁶
- Line 3:** For dalla as “a kind of ring”, see CAD and AHW under *kamkammatu(m)*. These rings seem to have normally been made of silver or gold.⁵⁷
- Line 5:** The reading a-gu₃ for A.KA with the translation “upper, upper part” seems to be certain.⁵⁸ For gigr₂ as “stands”, note the word gigr which, according to H. Limet, refers to the bronze-made foot/leg or wheel(?) of the throne of the goddess/god’s statue.⁵⁹ M. Hausperger, in her study of the so-called “Einführungsszene” on Mesopotamian seals, has given us a good picture of such thrones. The thrones or, more correctly, the stools on which the statues of the deities sat in the Ur III period, are often depicted with feet or on some kind of podium, but never with wheels.⁶⁰
- Line 7:** An unusual type of axe perhaps with a bird or fish decoration on its “neck”.⁶¹
- Line 8:** The rare šita₂ (see CAD *kakkum*) appear as a weapon in the Gudea statues or cylinders.⁶²
- Line 9:** Hence Limet: “On pourrait penser à des feuilles de métal ou à une arme (⁶³tukul-ga-li₂-a-tum).”⁶³ The context of the ga-li₂-(a)-tum in our text certainly speaks for an interpretation as some kind of weapon.
- Line 11:** CAD *malûm* (si₃-ga or si₃-gi/gi₄-de₃) “richly decorated”. The verb was used when valuable metal objects were decorated with precious stones, such as carnelian (za₂-za-gug), lapis-lazuli (za-gin₃), a-gug₂-stones, etc.⁶⁴ The exact meaning of the a-gug₂-stone is not completely clear. It appears (rarely) together with other precious stones.⁶⁵
- Line 12:** Limet’s translation of the expression zi-zi as sharpened seems questionable due to its associations with animals.⁶⁶ Since zi-zi can denote “to flay, to skin” (*kâšum*), more suitable for the associations with animals, the translation “flaying-knife” for gir₂ zi-zi is here suggested.⁶⁷
- The reading of the first strange-looking sign as gir₂ is based on an identical line.⁶⁸
- Lines 13–14:** CAD *šulbû* “a lock or part of a lock”.
- Line 15:** Normally the sickle (KIN probably read gur₁₀, *niggallu*) in the Ur III period was made of copper. It seems reasonable to assume that these rare stone-sickles filled some ceremonial, rather than utilitarian, function.
- Line 17:** See the well-known Puzriš-Dagan official active during the end of the reign of Šulgi.⁶⁹



TEXTS FROM UMMMA

Text 6. (MM 1961:22)

The city of Umma, situated in the middle of the Ur III central core, was one of the most important Mesopotamian cities in the third millennium BC. Although the city was never officially excavated, thousands of Neo-Sumerian tablets from Umma are today found in different museums or private collections. It is indeed not an easy task to conclude to what extent the published texts from these collections are to be regarded as representative for the city's official business, but we can without doubt conclude that the city must have served as a major supplier of grain, animal products, wood, reed and related materials in the Ur III period.⁷⁰

Our text belongs to a group of texts which can be described as administrative orders requesting a recipient to perform an action. These texts, usually referred to as "letter orders", were solely used for transactions within the sphere of official bureaucratic practice and there is nothing in these documents reminding us of the intimate personal communications so often found in other types of Mesopotamian letters.⁷¹ The text belongs to the rather rare examples of letter orders without the standard introduction formula. Therefore, the recipient and the sender of the letter remain unknown. We can be quite certain that the complete addressee, as well as the identity of the sender, were written on the broken and – for us – lost clay "envelope".⁷² Since the letter, like most letters in the Ur III period, lacks dating formula, it is difficult to conclude its exact date, but the structure and subject of the letter imply that its origin was the city of Umma.⁷³ The mention of the royal gur

(c. 300 liters) in the first line speaks against a date before the middle of the reign of Šulgi.⁷⁴ In an important year account from Umma dated to AS 4 dealing with wood and reed objects, a certain Lu₂-eb-gal is mentioned working as an ad-KUB₄ in the city of A-KA-sal₄^{ki}, an important district in the vicinity of Umma.⁷⁵ Since also the workers Ur-nigar_x^{gar} and Ur-gi₈gigir are mentioned in similar contexts in the same account,⁷⁶ it seems possible that this year account from Umma and our letter order are partly listing the same ad-KUB₄ workers. This might perhaps suggest an approximate date of our text to the reign of the king Amar-Suen.

6. Transliteration and translation of MM 1961:22

Obv. ⁽¹⁾01;3,0 š[e gur luga]l ⁽²⁾Ur-nigar_x^{gar} ⁽³⁾01;3,0 Šu-zu ⁽⁴⁾01;3,0 Puzur₄-Ma-am₃ ⁽⁵⁾01;3,0 Ur-gi₈gigir ⁽⁶⁾01;3,0 Ur-eš₂-dam ⁽⁷⁾02;0,0 Ha-ha-ra₂ ⁽⁸⁾01;3,0 Lu₂-eb-gal ⁽⁹⁾01;3,0 Lugal-sur_x(LAL₂.TUG₂) ⁽¹⁰⁾02;0,0 Ur-dU[tu]^(?)

Rev. ⁽¹¹⁾02;0,0 Lugal-za₃-[ge-si^(?)] ⁽¹²⁾01;3,0 Be-li₂ ⁽¹³⁾(blank space) ⁽¹⁴⁾ad-KUB₄-me ⁽¹⁵⁾gur zid₂-da-ta ⁽¹⁶⁾he₂-ne-eb₂-sum-mu

Obv. (Tell him:) ⁽¹⁾1 r[oyal gur], 3 (barig) of b[arley]: ⁽²⁾Ur-nigar; ⁽³⁾1 (royal gur), 3 (barig of barley): Šuzu; ⁽⁴⁾1 (royal gur), 3 (barig of barley): Puzur-Mam; ⁽⁵⁾1 (royal gur), 3 (barig of barley): Ur-gigir; ⁽⁶⁾1 (royal gur), 3 (barig of barley): Ur-ešdam; ⁽⁷⁾2 (royal gur of barley): Haha_{ra}; ⁽⁸⁾1 (royal gur), 3 (barig of barley): Lu-ebgal; ⁽⁹⁾1 (royal gur), 3 (barig of barley): Lugal-sur; ⁽¹⁰⁾2 (royal gur of barley): Ur-U[tu];

Rev. ⁽¹¹⁾2 (royal gur of barley): Lugal-za[gesi]; ⁽¹²⁾1 (royal gur), 3 (barig of barley): *Bel*. ⁽¹³⁾– ⁽¹⁴⁾They are reed workers; ⁽¹⁵⁾from the vessel for flour, ⁽¹⁶⁾he shall give it to them.

Comments

Line 7: For the reading of Ha-ha-DU as Ha-ha-ra₂ (i.e. -ra₂), note Ha-ha-DU-ar in-na-an-su⁷⁷ where the dative suffix on the personal name suggests an a-Auslaut.

Line 14: CAD *atkuppu* “a craftsman making objects of reed”. The ad-KUB₄ in the Ur III society belonged to a group of trained craftsmen of different kinds referred to as giš-kin-ti. The ad-KUB₄ produced a large variety of very important objects of reed, bitumen, wood, fibers, etc. including parts of sailing vessels, houses, baskets, boxes, doors and mats.⁷⁸

The amount of barley for each individual in the text (c. 480–600 liters) is rather high if we bear in mind that the normal monthly income for a male worker of low status (guruš) was c. 60 liters and the standard salary for his female counterpart (geme₂) only about 30 liters of barley per month.

Line 15: I know of only two other texts where the expression gur zid₂-da (literary: “vessel of flour”) can be found.⁷⁹ Since the amount of barley is already established with the standardized royal gur in line 1, the gur zid₂-da is not to be understood as a specific measure of its own.⁸⁰ The expression must instead denote some kind of official institution/storage of barley in the city of Umma. Another, similar letter order from Umma⁸¹ might perhaps shed some light on the meaning of the expression: ⁽¹⁾Lu₂-gi-na ⁽²⁾u₃-na-dug₄ ⁽³⁾60;0 še gur še numun-ta ⁽⁴⁾mu Ur-nigar_x sag apin-še₃ ⁽⁵⁾Lu₂-dŠara₂ dumu Ur-gi₈gigir-ra-ka ⁽⁶⁾he₂-na-ab-sum-mu (...) “⁽¹⁻²⁾Say to Lu-gina: ⁽⁶⁾he shall give to ⁽⁵⁾Lu-Šara, son of Ur-gigir, ⁽³⁾60 gur of barley from the seed grain ⁽⁴⁾because of Ur-nigar, the head plowman. (...)” Here, the še numun-ta in line 3 must be understood as “from the seed grain stocks” and it seems likely that the barley from the gur zid₂-da in our text should be interpreted as a similar stock of barley intended/scheduled to be ground to flour.⁸²



Text 7. (MM 1977:15)

This text is a good example of a rare but well defined text group from the city of Umma. These texts always deal with metal objects designated for doors and they all date to either ŠS 7 or 8. For an analysis of this group of texts and a list of references to other texts, see Neumann's important book on different craftsmen in the Ur III period.⁸³

7. Transliteration and translation of MM 1977:15

Obv. ⁽¹⁾02.00 un^{du}kak-[a-ra]-/a[b] ⁽²⁾ [ki]-la₂-bi 3 [ma-na] / [9^(?) gin₂] ⁽³⁾Inim-ma-an-ni-zi ⁽⁴⁾i₃-la₂ ⁽⁵⁾[ugula]
Lugal-ku₃-zu

Under side: ⁽⁶⁾[m]u ^{gi}ig-mi-sir₂-še₃ ⁽⁷⁾giri₃ Lu₂-dInanna

Rev. ⁽⁸⁾(blank line) ⁽⁹⁾iti dDumu-zi ⁽¹⁰⁾mu dŠu-dEN.ZU ⁽¹¹⁾lugal Urim₃[ki-ma]- [ke₄] ⁽¹²⁾ma-da Za-ab-ša-[li]-/ki
mu-hul

Obv. ⁽¹⁾120 copper door-nails, ⁽²⁾their weight 3 minas (and) 9(?) shekels, ⁽³⁾Inimanizi ⁽⁴⁾weighed out, ⁽⁵⁾foreman: Lugal-kuzu,

Under side: ⁽⁶⁾for the mi-sir₂-doorwood, ⁽⁷⁾responsible: Lu-Inanna.

Rev. ⁽⁸⁾– ⁽⁹⁾The month of the god Dumuzi (xii); ⁽¹⁰⁾The year: Šu-Suen, ⁽¹¹⁾the king of Ur, ⁽¹²⁾destroyed the land of Zabšali. (ŠS 7)

Comments

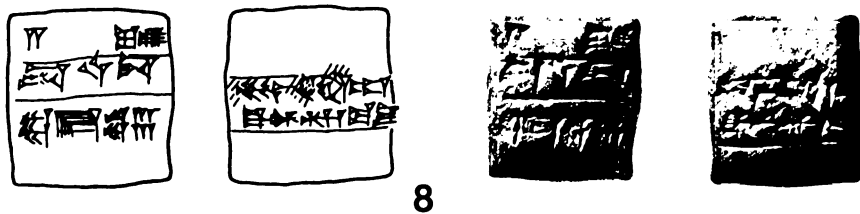
Line 1: H. Limet translated kak “Cheville, clou” and wrote about kak-a-ra-ab: “Certainement partie d’une porte”.⁸⁴

Other similar texts⁸⁵ tell us that the first two wedges can only be translated as 120 (i.e. 02.00) and not as 2 (i.e. 00.02). Since one mina approximately corresponded to 1/2 kilo in the Ur III period, this would – in our text – give an average weight of 13.125 gram for each nail. Considering that one cubic centimeter of copper weighs 8.96 gram, the nails must have been rather small (in our case about 1.46 cu.cm).⁸⁶

The function of these small nails is not clear but it seems as if they were produced in great quantities.⁸⁷ It is possible that they were used to hold the wooden frames with reed screens that were used in light doors during this period.⁸⁸

Line 5: The reconstruction “ugula” is based on the general function of Lugal-ku₃-zu in this type of text.⁸⁹ The reconstruction “igi” would theoretically be possible.

Line 6: The assumption made by A. Salonen who considered ⁸¹⁸mi-sir₂ “eine Art Holz für Türen”,⁹⁰ seems to be further strengthened by the context here. However, the exact meaning of the very rarely attested mi-sir₂ remains uncertain.



8

Text 8. (MM 1969:19)

This short text from Umma shows the enigmatic character of some of the Ur III texts and the exact meaning and purpose of the text remains somewhat unclear. According to M. Stepien, 63% of the distributions of animals (to specified destinations) in Umma were for different cultic purposes.⁹¹ Therefore, one possible explanation of our text could be that two grass-fed sheep were (or were supposed to be) sacrificed as the “contribution of a day” in the eighth month of the fourth year in the reign of Amar-Suen. However, it is not possible to conclude from the text by whom they were sacrificed and to which god and temple the sacrifice was conducted. Judging from the texts recovered from Umma, most of the animal sacrificed as a₂ u₄-da went to the temple E₂-mah and to the god Šara, who was the patron deity of the city.⁹²

8. Transliteration and translation of MM 1969:19

Obv: ⁽¹⁾2 udu u₂ ⁽²⁾a₂ u₄-da ⁽³⁾iti e₂-iti-6

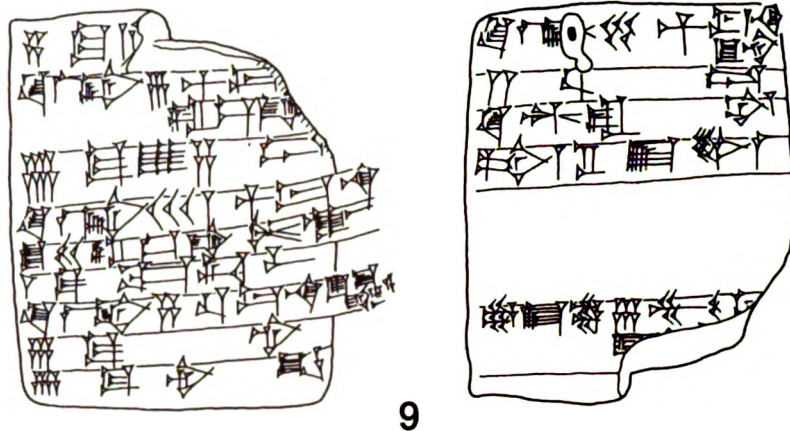
Rev: ⁽⁴⁾(blank space) ⁽⁵⁾mu En-unu₆-gal ⁽⁶⁾Inanna ba-hug

Obv: ⁽¹⁾2 grass-fed sheep, ⁽²⁾as the contribution of a day; ⁽³⁾The month of the 6-month house (viii).

Rev: ⁽⁴⁾– ⁽⁵⁾The year: Enunugal(anna) of the goddess Inanna was installed. (AS 5)

Comments

Line 2: PSD translates the expression a₂ u₄-da “daily”.⁹³ W. Sallaberger has shown however, from the number of sacrificed animals in Umma, that the a₂ u₄-da as a sacrifice was conducted less often than every day,⁹⁴ hence the translation “contribution of a day” employed here.



Text 9. (MM 196r:2r)

Text number nine is a list of different garments of various qualities and materials provided by the official Dingira to the governor of Umma. The text is a good example of how the governor, having the ultimate responsibility for the textile industry in Umma, had to control the weights of the different garments provided by one of his subordinates: Dingira, the foreman of the fullers (ugula aslag). Another high official involved in the textile industry of Umma was the foreman of the female weavers (ugula uš-bar). Since the female millers in Umma also were weaving, the third important official within the extensive textile industry of Umma was the foreman of the female millers (ugula kikken₂).⁹⁵

9. Transliteration and translation of MM 196r:2r

Obv. ⁽¹⁾4 tug₂ ni₃-[lam₂ X-kam uš] ⁽²⁾ki-la₂-bi 6 1/2 ma-[na sig₂ kur]-/ra ^{gis}GA.[ZUM-aka] ⁽³⁾8 tug₂ guz-za gin
⁽⁴⁾ki-la₂-bi 31 1/2 ma-na ⁽⁵⁾sig₂ kur-ra ^{gis}GA.ZUM-aka ⁽⁶⁾1 tug₂ sag uš-bar ⁽⁷⁾ki-la₂-bi 4 1/3 ma-na sig₂ šu / peš₅-
a ⁽⁸⁾6 tug₂ mug ⁽⁹⁾8 tug₂ mug muru₁₃

Rev. ⁽¹⁰⁾ki-la₂-bi 50 1/2 ma-na / sig₂ mug ⁽¹¹⁾2 gada gin ⁽¹²⁾ki Dingir-ra-ta ⁽¹³⁾ensi₂-ke₄ in-la₂ ⁽¹⁴⁾(blank space)
⁽¹⁵⁾iti e₂-iti-6 mu u[s₂-sa] / [e₂] [Puzur₄-iš^d-Da-gan] ⁽¹⁶⁾[ba-du₃]

Obv. ⁽¹⁾4 ni₃-lam₂ garments, Xth quality, ⁽²⁾their weight: 6 1/2 minas of combed wool of the mountain/foreign (sheep); ⁽³⁾8 guz-za garments, 5th quality, ⁽⁴⁾their weight: 31 1/2 minas ⁽⁵⁾of combed wool of the mountain/foreign (sheep); ⁽⁶⁾1 sag uš-bar garment, ⁽⁷⁾its weight: 4 1/3 minas of picked wool; ⁽⁸⁾6 mug garments, ⁽⁹⁾8 mug garments, medium-quality,

Rev. ⁽¹⁰⁾their weight: 50 1/2 minas of mug wool; ⁽¹¹⁾2 linen, 5th quality; ⁽¹²⁾from Dingira; ⁽¹³⁾The governor weighed out. ⁽¹⁴⁾– ⁽¹⁵⁾The month of the 6-month house (viii); The year after the year: The house of Puzriš-Dagan ⁽¹⁶⁾was built. (§ 40)

Comments

Line 1: For tug₂ ni₃-lam₂, see CAD *lamaḫuššur*: “a precious garment made of wool”. Although there are many different kinds of textiles made of combed wool beginning with tug₂ ni₃–..., the reconstruction of our line is almost certain.⁹⁶ Also the (average) weight of each garment of 1 1/2 minas and 7 shekels (line 2) supports the reconstruction.⁹⁷

The quality classification of the garment is not possible to reconstruct. However, it should be noted that the wool from the udu kur-ra was normally used only for 4th or 5th quality garments and sometimes for 3rd quality garments.⁹⁸

The writing sig₂ kur-ra is the common shorthand for sig₂ udu kur-ra. The exact meaning of udu kur-ra, a designation for sheep mainly found in Umma, has been a subject of discussion. M. Stepien has recently argued convincingly that the udu kur-ra in Umma should be understood as a general term for all types of foreign, non-Sumerian sheep.⁹⁹ This designation included several distinct breeds, such as the in Umma very rarely mentioned udu gukkal “fat-tailed sheep” or the completely unattested Persian sheep udu ₃si_{ma}ski.

The details of the combing process (⁹⁵GA.ZUM-aka) of the wool have been thoroughly described by H. Waetzoldt.¹⁰⁰

Line 6: A rather rough and irregular woven fabric made out of washed (za-ri₂-in) and sometimes also picked (peš₃) wool. The fabric is never made from the combed wool used for garments of higher qualities, nor is the wool ever given any quality classifications.¹⁰¹

Line 7: The picking of the wool involves the removing of dirt, small chips, knots, etc. About 10% of the wool is removed in this process.¹⁰²

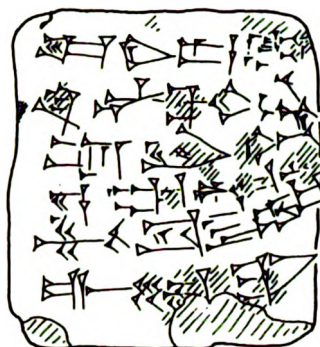
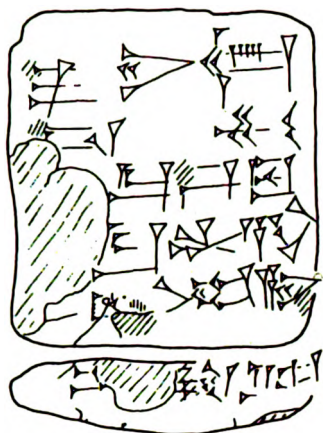
Line 8: A low-quality fabric made from the “bad” wool (sig₂ mug) and/or the so-called comber waste (also sig₂ mug).¹⁰³

Line 9: Already L. Oppenheim recognized UD-gunû (i.e. muru₁₃) as an adjective denoting a certain quality (“not the best one”) for garments.¹⁰⁴

The UD-gunû as an adjective for garments always appears after KAL but before tur.¹⁰⁵ This might suggest that it is the size of the garments rather than the quality that is described.¹⁰⁶ However, contrary to the garments described with tur, which are lighter than the other garments, it is difficult to recognize any clear divisions in weight between the rest of the garments. The weight of one mug muru₁₃ garment was about 4 minas,¹⁰⁷ which should be compared to average weight of unclassified mug garments of slightly more than 4 1/3 minas in Girsu¹⁰⁸ or about 4 minas in Umma.¹⁰⁹ Nor does it seem as if there were any differences in weight between garments classified with KAL or with muru₁₃,¹¹⁰ and these classifications for garments (tur excluded) can therefore only be understood as adjectives denoting different qualities.¹¹¹

Line 12: The well-known Umma official Dingira was the foreman of the fullers (ugula aslag) as well as a scribe (dub-sar) during the end of the reign of Šulgi.¹¹²

Lines 15–16: The reconstruction of the year name is conjectural.



10



Text 10. (MM 1977:19B)

This record from Umma deals with lard, perhaps from the pig (šah₂). According to B.R. Foster, different animal fats played a very important role in the human diet in Mesopotamia throughout the third millennium.¹¹³

The tablet is poorly preserved and the exact structure and meaning of the document is therefore not completely clear.

10. Transliteration and translation of MM 1977:19B

Obv: ⁽¹⁾0;0,3 i₃-šah₂ ⁽²⁾Uš-mu ⁽³⁾[...] Ur-^{gi}gigir ⁽⁴⁾[...] Ur-^dA-šar₂ ⁽⁵⁾[...] Lugal-ur₂-a-ni

Under side: ⁽⁶⁾ki[šib⁽¹⁾ e]nsi₂-ka

Rev: ⁽⁷⁾inim I₃-kal-la-ta ⁽⁸⁾[ki] ^d[Šara₂-kam-ta] ⁽⁹⁾kišib Lu₂-[dug₃]-ga ⁽¹⁰⁾iti ezem ^d[Šul-gi] ⁽¹¹⁾mu us₂-sa bad₃
⁽¹²⁾MAR.TU ba-du₃

Obv. ⁽¹⁾3 ban of lard, ⁽²⁾(to^(?)) Ušmu, ⁽³⁾... (to^(?)) Ur-gigir, ⁽⁴⁾... (to^(?)) Ur-Ašar, ⁽⁵⁾... (to^(?)) Lugalurani;

Under side: ⁽⁶⁾Sealed by the governor;

Rev. ⁽⁷⁾By the orders of Ikalla, ⁽⁸⁾from Šarakam; ⁽⁹⁾Sealed by Ludugga; ⁽¹⁰⁾The month of the divine Šulgi (x);
⁽¹¹⁻¹²⁾The year after the year: The western wall was built. (ŠS 5)

Comments

Line 5: Most likely a different writing of the name Lugal-ur₂-ra-ni, which was rather common in Umma.¹¹⁴



Text II. (MM 1977:20)

Our last text belongs to a group of Umma texts describing rites/offerings conducted in fields, in our case by incantation priests (maš-maš). The text group is described by Sallaberger, who also offers a complete list of references to other similar texts from Umma.¹¹⁵

Our text is not dated with a month formula but it seems as if this kind of rite was conducted in the first month of the year, i.e. at the beginning of the harvest period.¹¹⁶

II. Transliteration and translation of MM 1977:20

Obv. ⁽¹⁾5 udu bar-ga[l₂] ⁽²⁾sig₃ elam-e-n[e] ⁽³⁾ki Igi-a-a šagina ⁽⁴⁾sipa udu lu₂ kig₂-gi₄-<a> / maškim ⁽⁵⁾3 udu

bar-gal₂ ⁽⁶⁾1 maš₂ ⁽⁷⁾siskur₂ a-ša₃ keš₂-ra₂ ⁽⁸⁾giri₃ maš-maš-e-ne ⁽⁹⁾2 udu bar-gal₂ ⁽¹⁰⁾2 [maš₂]

Rev. ^{(11-14(?))}[broken] ⁽¹⁵⁾s[isku]r₂ [...] ⁽¹⁶⁾giri₃ Luga[l-...] ⁽¹⁷⁾kišib en[si₂-ka] ⁽¹⁸⁾mu ^dN[anna Kar]-/zi-d[a^{ki} a-ra₂ 2-kam e₂]/-a-na b[a-an-ku₄]

Obv. ⁽¹⁾5 sheep with fleece, ⁽²⁾the best quality, of the Elamites^(?), ⁽³⁾from Igi-ayya, the Šagina-commander, ⁽⁴⁾the shepherd, the envoy, (and) the conveyer; ⁽⁵⁾3 sheep with fleece, ⁽⁶⁾1 goat, ⁽⁷⁾(for) the siskur₂-ritual (in which) the field was “tied up”, ⁽⁸⁾responsible: the incantation priests; ⁽⁹⁾2 sheep with fleece, ⁽¹⁰⁾2 goats,

Rev. ⁽¹¹⁻¹⁴⁾..., ⁽¹⁵⁾(for) the siskur₂-ritual ..., ⁽¹⁶⁾responsible: Lugal-...; ⁽¹⁷⁾Sealed by the governor; ⁽¹⁸⁾The year: The (statue of the) god Nanna of the city Karzida was brought into his temple for the second time. (Š 36)

Comments

Line 1: For a recent discussion of the meaning of bar-gal₂ “Vollvlies”, see W. Heimpel’s excellent article on goat and sheep terminology in Puzriš-Dagan and Umma.¹¹⁷

Lines 3-4: I know of no other examples from Umma (or elsewhere) of Igi-ayya as a Šagina, and the lines should most likely be understood as 1 sheep from Igi-ayya, 1 from the Šagina-commander, 1 from the shepherd of sheep, 1 from the envoy, and 1 from the conveyer rather than the 5 sheep coming from one person (Igi-ayya) with five different professions.

Lines 7, 15: The exact meaning of the expression siskur₂ is still somewhat obscure.¹¹⁸

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NOTES

1. At the time of writing the index of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI) listed 45,344 published Ur III tablets, and new texts are constantly being published (see <http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/>).
2. For the so-called core area of the Ur III state, see Steinkeller 1991, Fig. 1.
3. Note R. de Maaijer who recently

argued for the maintainance of the name Lagaš for this city-state and province also in the Ur III period (1998, 53). According to de Maaijer, Girsu was used by the administration outside the province in question while the local administration referred to itself as Lagaš.

4. For a complete list of smaller collections of tablets from other sites in Mesopotamia, see Sallaberger 1999, 208–211.

5. For a more detailed account of different methods that may be used to attribute the origin of acquired tablets, see Sallaberger 1999, 207.

6. Steinkeller 1991, 17, 23. For the bala system in the Ur III period, see also Hallo 1960; PSD B, 65–67; Sallaberger 1993, 32–34; Maeda 1994, 115–164; Sharlach 1999. For the bala in Umma, see Maeda 1995, 145–174.

7. Steinkeller 1991, 23.

8. Steinkeller 1991; see also Michalowski 1978a; Owen & Veenker 1987; Owen 1993; Maeda 1992, with additional literature as well as the discussion of tablet no. 3 in this article.

9. Sigrist 1995, 13–14

10. Hallo 1960, 91. Cf. PSD B, 66 wrongly translating: “for the year(?) of the bala service”.

11. See e.g. MVN 6: 98.

12. George 1993, 64.

13. Edzard & Farber 1974, 62, 314.

14. BCT 1: 108.

15. PDT 2: 1360; MVN 17: 54; Hirose: 314; etc.

16. MSL 12, 170:427.

17. Note also the discussion (with various references) by L. Oppenheim who translated the expression “storehouse-

keeper" (1948, 92–93) as well as the – more recent – translation offered by A. Ganter (1981, 4): "Beamte für das Speiseopfer". For other texts sealed by officials responsible for the *nig₃-dab₅-ba*, see OrSP 47–49: 27; MVN 6: 287; MVN 16: 924; MVN 17: 82; UTAMI 4: 2880; etc. For the *lu₂nig₂-dab₅-ba* occurring in other situations, see UET 3: 1146, 1356.

18. See Oppenheim who connected this expression with *gar-gar-ra* (*ga₄-ga₄-ra*) and *sag-GAR-GA-ra*, suggested the translation "established account" (1948, 79). Oppenheim's attempt to read *GA-GA-ra* as a phonetic writing of (*sag*)-*GAR-GA-ra* is, however, problematic and would perhaps require *GA₃-GA-ra* rather than *GA-GA-ra*. Moreover, the reading *sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra* of the expression *sag-GAR-GA-ra* seems to be most likely (although *sag-nig₂-ga-ra* can not be excluded, see Snell 1982, 230 with additional literature). For an analysis of the use of this economic term in the Puzriš-Dagan administration, see Sigrist 1992, 97–99 with additional references. For the Akkadian equivalent, see AHW, 430 and 589–590.

19. Sigrist 1992, 97.

20. "Breeding official" by Maeda 1989, 76–77. See Sigrist 1995: 139–140, 143, 156–157, 159, 165; MVN 15: 74, 79, 151, 202, 258–270, etc.

21. Hunger 1976–80, 297–8. For the years having an intercalary month in different cities in the Ur III period, see Sigrist & Gomi 1991, 306–310.

22. See e.g. Cohen 1993, 119–124; Civil 1994, 169–71 or, most recently, J. Bauer (1998, 122) who read the *KIN* as *sag₁₁*, or *sig₁₈*.

23. Gomi 1975, 4–5 (Gomi has recently changed his name to Ozaki).

24. Maeda 1989, 77–8.

25. E.g. Sigrist 1988: 9 (§ 43/vi); TLB 3: 95 (§§ 1/xiii); PDT 1: 550 (broken date).

26. MVN 15: 134, 284, etc.

27. See Oh'e 1983, 118 with additional references.

28. See e.g. Michalowski 1978a; Owen & Veenker 1987; Owen 1993; Maeda 1992. P. Matthiae's attempt to attribute the political control of region of Ebla to the city of Uršu in the Ur III period has not been generally accepted (Matthiae 1985, 142; see also Owen & Veenker 1987, 265 n. 10).

29. Owen & Veenker 1987, 266, 269; see also Michalowski 1978a, 44–5.

30. Maeda 1992, 143–48. In his list of vassal states, Maeda records Ebla and Mari but not Uršu.

31. See e.g. Edzard & Farber 1974, 225.

32. Klengel 1993, 74–77.

33. For an introductory survey of the literature on the archaeological and philological material from Ebla, see Klengel 1993, 21–38.

34. For other texts with Budur, see Owen 1993.

35. Maeda 1992, 141. For additional references, see also Owen & Veenker 1987, 263–291 and Owen 1993, 121.

36. The restoration of the year formula in the so-called "Trout Tablet 1" from AS 7 is based on some very vague traces of signs, not possible to distinguish on the photo of the text (see Owen & Veenker 1987, 268f., 279 n. 46, plate I), and should perhaps be regarded as somewhat conjectural.

37. Note *Zu-ri-im* / *lu₂ kig₂-gi₄-a lu₂ Eb-la^u* in Gomi 1980: 7 which should be translated "*Zurim*, the envoy of the man of Ebla". The translation "*Zurim*, the envoy (and) the man of Ebla" or the like, is impossible since *Zurim*, in another text dated only two days earlier (TMH NF 1/2: 313), together with Lugalpae, is "responsible" (*giri₃*) in an

animal transaction concerning "the man of Ebla" (*lu₂ Eb-la^u*).

38. See Owen 1993.

39. Maeda 1992, 141; see also the *lu₂ Umma^{ki}* or *lu₂ Unug^{ki}* in the Old Sumerian administrative texts who certainly are to be understood as the rulers of the cities (Selz 1989, 353). The occurrence of the title or office together with the *ensi₂* show that there was some kind of difference between the *ensi₂* of a city and the *lu₂* of a city (e.g. the "Trout Tablet 1" in Owen & Veenker 1987, 267). It seems likely that the *lu₂* and the *ensi₂* had the same function in praxis.

40. Oh'e 1983, 119; Sigrist 1995: 32, 46, 48, 82, 83, etc.

41. See e.g. Sallaberger (1993/94, 55): "*šu-gid₂*-Lieferung (= ?)" or Sigrist (1995), who translated *šu-gid₂ e₂ muhaldim* as "as a tax for the kitchen".

42. See Sigrist 1995, 43.

43. See e.g. SACT 1: 144.

44. See e.g. Sigrist 1995: 105.

45. The intercalary month in UET 3: 1224 written *diri še-KIN-ku₃* instead of the expected *diri ezem^u me-ki-gal₃* (see UET 3: 287) suggests that the text was originally written in Nippur and later brought to the city of Ur.

46. See YOS 18, 22 with further references. Note that the official *Hal-hal-la* is also found in the above-mentioned SACT 1:144.

47. For a short survey of these suggested interruptions, see Zettler 1992, 5, n. 2. For an outline of the city's history and topography in the Ur III period, see pages 5–20.

48. Oppenheim 1948: C1.

49. For the personal name *MAR.TU*, see Limet 1968.

50. In the Ur III period, the Šagina

normally denotes the commander of an army, a region, or a city (Grégoire 1970, 80–83). It should be noted that the GIR₃ could also be read ANŠE, i.e. mu dur (ANŠE.ARAD) [ki-l-bi-a dur₃-a-ne-še₃] “for the ones who stayed (with) the donkey foal(s) in its/their location” perhaps to be understood as if some people were assigned to stay and look after the donkey foal(s) during the transport and – for the work – they were paid one full-grown barley-fed goat.

51. This group of texts has previously been treated by P. Michalowski (1978b) and especially M. Sigrist 1979. An excellent recent description of the text group including a list of all published texts belonging to the archive can be found in Sallaberger 1999, 240–252, 371–376.

52. See Sallaberger 1999, 240, 243, 246.

53. See Sallaberger 1999, 246f.

54. See Sigrist 1979, 39 and Sallaberger 1999, 245f.

55. Limet 1960, 205.

56. Limet 1960, 150, 156, 199: “un ornement qui s’avance en relief”. D. Loding’s tentative interpretation of the a₂-la₃ as a type of drinking vessel (1974, 169, n. 37) does not seem to be clearly confirmed in our text. See also PSD A/1, 103 translating 2 a-a-la, sag-*f*₃-ba ga₃-ga₃-de₃ “2 *ala* to be inlaid on their protomes”.

57. See Koslova 2000: 336; Maekawa 1986:1; NATN: 852; OIP 115: 483; Sollberger 1956: 11.

58. Civil 1973, 58–59; see also CST: 551 where a-gu₃ is used to describe the upper part of a šunir (“emblem”?) of bronze.

59. Limet 1960, 208. Limet based his translation on UET 3: 371.

60. Hausperger 1991, 192, 294.

61. Salonen 1968, 150, 153, 155.

62. Statue B, 6:24 or Cyl. B 13:21–22. See Steible 1991, 23–24 with commentary and further references.

63. Limet 1960, 205. For the translation “bronze weapon”, see also UET 3: 315.

64. Limet 1960, 163; Oppenheim 1948, 50. For the decoration with a-gug₂-stones together with carnelian, see UET 3: 494, 1498. See also Reiter 1997, 448–449.

65. Limet 1960, 55 with further references.

66. Limet 1960, 257: gir₃ zi-zi “poignard affilé(?)”. The translation of zi-zi (*šahhāhu*) as sharpened was already suggested by V. Scheil (1921, 68–69). Note also the translation of W. von Soden of *ša-ḫu-ḫa-at* as corroded (metal) in the Old Assyrian period (AHw, 1128 with additional references). For zi-zi as an adjective for animals, see Oppenheim 1948, 90; BCT 1: 26; etc.

67. For zi-zi as “flayed”, see Westenholz 1975: 101. See also the Old Sumerian garment tug, ZI-ZI-a (AWL: 35) or the linen gada ZI-ZI-a (Salonen 1970, 57). Note in this context also the “knife for slaughtering (small) cattle” gir₃ udu uš₂ (TrD:86/Limet 1976:39) known from other texts from the treasure archive, as well as the working group referred to as eren₃-zi-zi working for the the Šabra administrators in Ur, possibly involved in the slaughtering process of sacrificial animals (UET 3: 56).

68. Scheil 1921: 1, X:2.

69. SACT 1: 6, 7, 52, 65; Sigrist 1995: 38, 55, etc.

70. Steinkeller 1991, 23.

71. Michalowski 1993, 4, 53.

72. Michalowski 1993, 75.

73. Note the many letter orders from Umma connected with reed or wood products, which, like our text, lack the introduction formula (MVN 3: 353;

MVN 14: 23, 465; MVN 15: 249 (§ 34); Touzalin 1982: 44, 47, 52, 92. etc.

74. Gomi 1993, 32.

75. TCL 5: 6036, X:34. See also I:25, I:27, and III:16. For A-KA-sal₃, see Edzard & Farber 1974, 13–15 and Grégoire 1970, 91–100. For the reading, see Maekawa 1991, 203f.

76. Ur-nigar₃^{gr} = TCL 5: 6036, II:11, II:12; Ur-^{gr}gigir = TCL 5: 6036, II:19, III:14, VII:7 (dumu Ba-ra-an), IX:27.

77. MVN 11: 162.

78. Bridges 1981, 74. For a thorough view of reed in the Ur III period and its range of uses, see also Sallaberger 1989 and Waetzoldt 1992.

79. MVN 15: 107 and OrSP 47–49: 467, where barley (measured in gur and gur lugal) is taken from the gur zid₃-da. The gur zid₃-da found in SACT 2: 209 should most likely be read as – the rather common – ^{gr}gur zid₃-da “reed-baskets for flour”.

80. An alternative measurement would better be expressed with the formula gur-n-sila₃-ta or gur-sila₃-n-ta. However, such measurements seem to have been used mainly in the twenties and thirties of the reign of Šulgi (Gomi 1993, 34; see also Gomi 1996, 143–150).

81. MVN 3: 226; see also Michalowski 1993, 99–100.

82. Apart from the already mentioned MVN 15: 107 and OrSP 47–49: 467, where a clear connection between the gur zid₃-da and the gur sa₃-du₁₁ can be established, note also a recently published text from Umma dated to the third year of the reign of Ib-bi-Suen (TCNU 1: 468) with gur sa₃-du₁₁ and gur zabar as similar stocks of barley/flour clearly intended to be used either in the regular offerings (sa₃-du₁₁) or for animal fodder (ša₃-gal).

83. Neumann 1993, 122–124, 122 n. 682.

84. Limet 1960, 205–206.

85. Nik. 2: 419; BCT 2: 88; etc.

86. It should however be noted that the average weight of these nails seems to vary considerably in different texts, e.g. about 16.1 gram in Nik. 2: 418 and only about 9.1 gram in Nik. 2: 419.

87. Limet 1960, 206.

88. Moorey 1994, 357–358; Damerji 1991, 241–242.

89. See Neumann 1993, 123.

90. Salonen 1961, 99.

91. Stepien 1996, 64. 28% of the distributions were destined for the administration and the remaining 9% for other purposes.

92. Sallaberger 1993, 84–85; see also the similar Umma text Koslova 2000: 141 from the same year and month where a goat and a sheep were sacrificed as a₂ u₄-da to the god Šara.

93. PSD A/2, 113–114.

94. Sallaberger 1993, 84–85 n. 356 and Tab. 26.

95. Waetzoldt 1972, 101f.

96. Oppenheim 1948, 65: “In lists of garments the guz-za garments are usually mentioned immediately after the tūg níg-lám which always head such enumerations.” For textiles made of combed wool beginning: tug, ni₃-, ..., see Waetzoldt 1972, 118f.

97. Cooper 1985: 34: “3 lamahusa_x (TÚG.NÍG.LÁM), [...] kam-uš ki-[lá- bi] 5 ma-na 10 gin, ...” or AnOr 1: 292, lines 46–47 where the weight of one ni₃-lam₂ garment was 1 5/6 minas; MVN 16: 679 where the average weight of the 4th quality ni₃-lam₂ garments was 1 1/2 minas and 6 shekels.

98. Waetzoldt 1972, 5.

99. Stepien 1996, 16–22 with additional literature.

100. Waetzoldt 1972, 115f.

101. Waetzoldt 1972, 112, 114.

102. Waetzoldt 1972, 112f.

103. Waetzoldt 1972, 56f.

104. Oppenheim 1948, 96–98. For muru₁₃ (UD-gunū) “middle”, see Steinkeller 1983, 246.

105. SACT 2: 290; MVN 16: 625, 746, 958; etc.

106. So Kang in SACT 2: -KAL “man-(size)”, -muru_x “middle-(size)”, -tur “small-(size)”.

107. E.g. MVN 16: 919: 26 tug, mug muru₁₃ / ki-la₂-bi 1 gu, 46 1/2 mana; Sallaberger 1993/94: 3: 11 tug, mug muru₁₃ / ki-la₂-bi 43 ma-na.

108. Waetzoldt 1971: 44: (121 tug, mug garments with an average weight of 5 minas), 45:11, 1–3 (18 tug, mug garments = 4 minas, 1 shekel each), III, 16–18 (16 tug, mug garments = 4 5/6 minas, 1 shekel each), 46 (2 tug, mug garments = 3 minas, 5 shekels each).

109. MVN 16: 755 (3 tug, mug garments with an average weight of 3 1/2 minas, 7 shekels), 919 (26 tug, mug garments = 4 minas, 6 shekels)

110. E.g. TENS: 405 (11 U₂ gi₆ muru₁₃ garments with an average weight of 3 minas, 11 shekels) and MVN 16: 755 (5 U₂ gi₆ KAL garments with an average of 3 minas, 12 shekels) or Sallaberger 1993/94: 3, giving the following average weights for U₂ garments:

U ₂ -KAL garments	lines
11 garments = 3 minas and 16 shekels each	1–2
18 garments = 3 minas and 22 shekels each	4–5
U ₂ garments	lines
8 garments = 3 minas and 15 shekels each	7–8
14 garments = 3 minas and 19 shekels each	10–11

111. Note in this context also CAD *kubbū* tug₂ kal-kal-(la)) “patched, sewn”.

112. Waetzoldt 1972, 101, n. 157 and 158 for further references.

113. Foster 1984, 116f. For further references to i₃-šah₂ in Sargonic and Ur III texts, see page 165, n. 67. Note here the most important lard (*šei rōu*) or pig’s fat (*zhū dà yóu*) and its many uses in ancient as well as modern China.

114. See e.g. UTAMI 4:2342. For the writing Lugal-ur₇-a-ni (in Girsu), see MVN 12: 467, 468.

115. Sallaberger 1993, 264–270, esp. 266f. For other references, see Tabs. 97, esp. Tab. 97.2:d.

116. Sallaberger 1993, 267.

117. Heimpel 1993, 127f.

118. Sallaberger 1993, 41f.

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A CYPRIOTE LIMESTONE TORSO IN THE NATIONALMUSEUM, STOCKHOLM – APPROACHING THE SO-CALLED EGYPTIANIZING GROUP IN CYPRIOTE SCULPTURE

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In 1890 the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm received a donation of objects from the British Consul on Cyprus, Mr. Charles Watkins. Among the 82 pieces of antiquities found on the island – all of unknown provenance – was one single stone object, a fragmentary limestone torso of a man. This interesting piece deserves a closer study.

Starting from the torso, we will take the opportunity to discuss the group of Cypriote sculpture to which it belongs. Its interesting ornamental details will invite us to go into detailed analysis, leading up to a discussion of artistic influences in Cypriote Archaic art. But let us first enter upon a formal description of the piece.

The sculpture, Inv. no NM Sk 1550, represents the torso of a man (Fig. 1), rendered in slightly over life-size. It is preserved from the base of the neck to just below the hips, where it has been cut off straight with a saw; the maximum preserved height is 65 cm, width 30 cm.¹ The torso is broken approximately in half along the vertical axis so that only the right part of the body is preserved. It is executed in yellowish limestone.² While the front of the sculpture was worked with care in low relief, the back was

left flat and undecorated, although slightly concave (Fig. 2). The garment rendered on the front of the sculpture thus finds no continuation on the back.

Along the side of the sculpted body are several holes, cut into the stone (Fig. 3).³ Another hole is found underneath the torso, on the horizontally cut surface; in it are traces of iron.⁴ These holes are seemingly modern, being results of the efforts of arranging and exhibiting the sculpture.

The right arm, which is broken off obliquely just above the elbow, hangs free, but we may assume that it was attached to the body at the level of the hips.⁵ There is a soft transition between the arm and the right breast muscle, in the form of an S-shaped line, that renders plasticity to the piece. So does the belly which is resting on the broad decorated belt. The characteristically rounded and massive shoulder area is found in many Cypriote votive sculptures.

The broad belt, 8 cm in width, hangs on the hips of the figure. It is decorated by three creatures, carved in low relief: a goat and a lion facing right, and a winged scarab (Fig. 4). The belt is holding up a garment covering the lower part of the man's

body. The garment itself is only witnessed by four parallel grooves, of which one is barely traceable. These grooves most probably constitute the outlines of the uppermost part of the three sashends found on each side of the centrally pendant device (the so-called *devanteau*) of Egyptian-type kilts (cf. Fig. 6).⁶

The upper part of the body is naked,⁷ except for a broad collar – an Egyptian *usekh*⁸ – hanging round the man's neck. The *usekh* is richly decorated, too, consisting of three concentric registers or bands of decoration (Fig. 5): closest to the neck we find loop-shaped patterns, followed by a row of triangles – placed tip down – overlying a thin, vertically striped cable. The border of the collar displays a pattern of hanging drops. All details on the sculpture are performed in low relief, except the drops in the outer register of the collar and the cable running underneath the triangles, which are recessed.

The sculptural group and its dating

The broad collar and the traces of the sashends of the Egyptian-type kilt tell




Fig. 1. Limestone torso of a male figure, from Cyprus. Exact provenance unknown. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Inv. no. NM Sk 1550. H. 65 cm. (Photo Hans Thorvid, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.)



Fig. 2. The back side of NM Sk 1550.

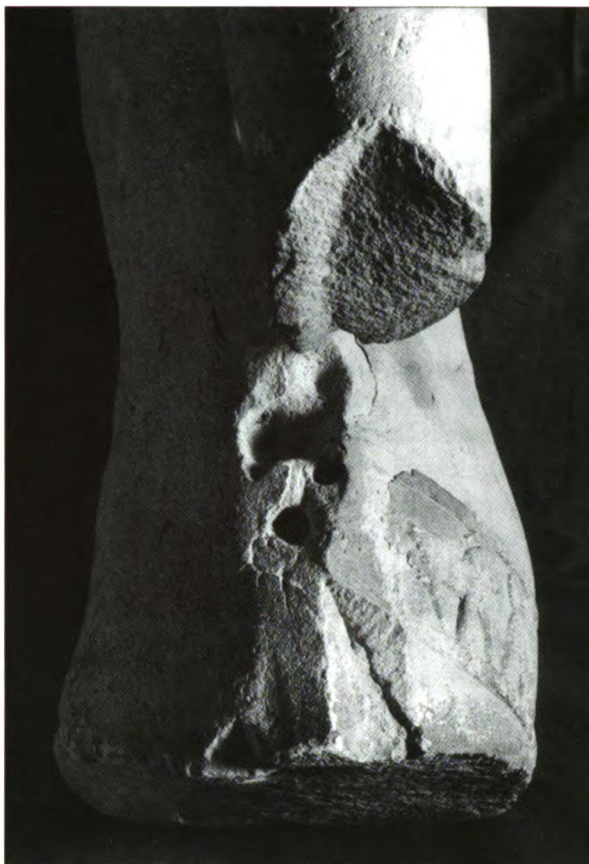


Fig. 3. Side view of NM Sk 1550.



Fig. 4. Detail of the decorated belt of NM Sk 1550, featuring a goat, a lion, and a four-winged scarab.



Fig. 5. Detail of the broad collar of NM Sk 1550.

us that the torso, NM Sk 1550, belongs to a group of male Cypriote limestone votives that are characterized by their Egyptian dress and ornaments.⁹ Sanctuary sites from several different parts of Cyprus, and occasional graves, have provided finds of sculptures and statuettes clad in this type of outfit, most frequently executed in local limestone.¹⁰ One or several of the following elements may be present in a sculpture: the kilt with a centrally placed apron, sometimes adorned by two cobras (*uraei*) with sun-discs on their heads,¹¹ the broad collar, the double crown of Egypt and the plain head cloth (the Egyptian kerchief) or plaited wig. The stance of the figures, although characteristically Egyptian – left leg advanced and both arms parallel along the sides of the body, alternatively one fist clenched on the chest – is shared by a large part of the Archaic votive sculpture from the island and is thus nothing unique that singles out this particular group.¹² Only very rarely do the votive figures in Egyptian dress carry animals or items.¹³ There are but few – and uncertain – examples of figures holding a cylindrical object with rounded ends, recalling the emblematic staves so characteristic of Egyptian statuary.¹⁴

It is worth pointing out that, apart from the stance, the figures with Egyptian dress share other characteristics of the Cypriote votive sculpture in general. The flatness of the back is ever-present,¹⁵ and the increased influence from Greek sculpture towards the end of the 6th century B.C., in both the rendering of face and body form, is evident in the Egyptianizing figures as well.

The group of Egyptian-clad

votive figures is merely one of several categories of objects expressing a taste for Egyptian iconography, witnessed on Cyprus from the early 7th through to the 5th century B.C.¹⁶ We encounter Egyptian divinities in Cypriote form,¹⁷ and grave monuments featuring resting sphinxes wearing Egyptian plain head cloths or even the royal *nemes* and double crown.¹⁸ Egyptian ornaments – such as the lotus flower and bud, and the winged sun-disc¹⁹ – are found decorating ceramics,²⁰ terracotta objects,²¹ coins,²² and metal-work of the period.²³

Understandably, early scholarship connected the phenomenon of Egyptian dress on figures of Cypriote manufacture with ancient sources speaking of an Egyptian political domination of the island.²⁴ Both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus report how Pharaoh Amasis of the 26th Dynasty (*ca.* 569–545 B.C.) subdued Cyprus and had close connections with the East-Greek world.²⁵ There is nothing, however, in the archaeological record that would confirm such an Egyptian impact on the island.²⁶ Even if this explanation partly has prevented new perspectives on the Egyptianizing group,²⁷ the last decades have seen interesting work being done. In her dissertation from 1975, B. Lewé examined the relationship between Archaic Cypriote sculpture and the neighbouring contemporary art centres. The Egyptianizing figures were dealt with in discussing both the relationship with Egypt and with the Phoenician cities. Not only did Lewé present an excellent, if short, evaluation of the group,²⁸ she also considered similar Cypriote material found in sanctua-

ries on the Phoenician mainland. Several Phoenician sanctuary sites have provided finds of limestone sculpture of a distinct Cypriote style, including figures clad in Egyptian dress.²⁹ It is highly interesting to note that alongside this limestone material, figures carved from local sandstone have been found.³⁰ This fact emphasizes the importance of taking the Phoenician material into consideration, in order to better understand the Cypriote.

Missing in Lewé's work was an actual interpretation of the Egyptianizing figures. In recent years, though, several attempts at understanding the phenomenon have been put forward. In 1989, F.G. Maier argued that figures with elaborate double crowns represent Priest Kings from Paphos.³¹ Shortly afterwards, G. Markoe set out to discuss the possible relation of the Egyptianizing dress to a Cypro-Phoenician population.³² He thereby based himself on the fact that this type of costume recalls the elaborate New Kingdom dress code rather than contemporary (26th Dynasty) Egyptian preferences which reintroduced the austere Old Kingdom type of dress.³³ A taste for Egyptian New Kingdom dress is characteristic of much of the Phoenician ivory and engraved metal objects of the Archaic period. Using this as an indication of indirect Phoenician rather than direct Egyptian influence in these particular sculptures, Markoe went on to argue that the Egyptianizing figures are evidence of a Cypro-Phoenician population seeking to manifest itself on the island.³⁴

In a 1994 conference paper, L. Wriedt Sørensen expressed reservations about this last interpretation.³⁵

By pointing towards a well-known falcon-headed figure clad in an Egyptian kilt,³⁶ she argued that the Egyptianizing figures reflect religious rather than political/ethnic preferences.³⁷ In her paper, Wriedt Sørensen undertakes a limited analysis of the Cypriote votive figures according to types, where "Male dressed in a *shenti*" (royal Egyptian kilt) makes out one of seven subgroups.³⁸ Her method of study, confronting the various types found within the Cypriote votive statuary and discussing them according to the same criteria, is remunerative.³⁹

If the early view of an Egyptian domination over Cyprus long dictated the scholarly perspective on the Egyptianizing figures, the same is true for their dating. By routine, they were all ascribed to the period 569–545 B.C., when the Cypriotes were believed to seek to display loyalty to the new Egyptian regime.⁴⁰

It was not until 1974 that this restricted dating was seriously challenged, and indeed overthrown. In an often-cited article, C. Vermeule argued that stylistic analogies with the facial features of Greek mainland sculpture would place a large part of the allegedly early Cypriote votive sculpture, including the Egyptianizing examples, within the years 520–480 B.C.⁴¹ Many have followed in this, arguing that several traditional datings were misleading, established to fit the alleged periods of Assyrian and Egyptian domination of the island.⁴² Recent datings that can be well argued for have placed individual Egyptianizing figures in the early 6th century B.C.⁴³ In his analysis of the sculptural material from Idalion, R. Senff proposes that the

particularity of belt resting on the hips of figures was introduced in the second quarter of the 6th century B.C., providing an upper limit for the dating of several Cypriote figures in Egyptian dress, including our Stockholm torso.⁴⁴ The interesting material from the Late Archaic sanctuary at Kouklia-Palaepaphos includes figures in Egyptian dress. The so-called Priest King, wearing a double crown decorated by a winged *uraeus*, has been ascribed – together with several other pieces – to the late 6th century B.C.⁴⁵ Taking all the above-mentioned views into consideration, it seems clear that figures in Egyptian attire were produced on Cyprus during at least the entire 6th century B.C.⁴⁶

We seem to be dealing with a group of figures that is well spread in the sanctuaries of the island during the 6th century B.C.,⁴⁷ but which is restricted in number and in material preference.⁴⁸ Although these figures are stylistically very diverse, there is a remarkable homogeneity as to the details of their outfit.⁴⁹

The torso and the ornamental details of its dress

The closest parallels for the Stockholm torso are two well-preserved statues from the Cesnola collection in New York, both found at Golgoi (Ayios Photios), in the central part of the island (Figs. 6 and 7).⁵⁰ Just like NM Sk 1550, the Cesnola sculptures wear the Egyptian *usekh* embellished with three concentric registers containing loop-shapes, triangles and hanging drops, and they wear the Egyptian kilt held up by a broad belt.⁵¹ Their head-dresses are the

Egyptian plain kerchief and the double crown, respectively. The kilt of Inv. no 74.51.2470 seemingly consists of a piece of kilt-cloth that – wrapped around the hips – covers the sides of a centrally placed apron (Fig. 6).⁵² The apron is decorated by cobras with sun-discs on their heads, hanging down from the top of the kilt, in this resembling an Egyptian *devanteau*.⁵³ On each side of the apron are the three sashends of equal shape, all with tapering ends.⁵⁴ The second figure is quite unique among large-scale Cypriote sculpture in Egyptian dress, in that the pleated kilt-cloth overlaps in the front, covering the upper part of the decorated apron (Fig. 7).⁵⁵ The traces of the sashends of our Stockholm torso indicate that its garment most probably belonged to the former, more common type of Cypro-Egyptian kilt.

When confronting the Stockholm torso with the two New York figures, we note that all three sculptures share the large format.⁵⁶ The pronounced shoulder area, and the soft transition between the arm and breast muscle is evident in all three sculptures,⁵⁷ as is the general lack of indication of further anatomic details on the upper part of the body.⁵⁸ All three figures wear belts which are placed on the hips. The elaborate figural decoration of the belt of NM Sk 1550 is unequalled, however, both in comparison to the well-preserved Golgoi figures, but also – as we shall see – in the whole corpus of Cypriote Archaic sculpture.

We have seen how the collar of NM Sk 1550 consists of three concentric bands of decoration. Two of them are preserved in their full width, the third is fragmentary (Fig. 5). Given the proximity of the inner-



Fig. 6. Sculpture found at Golgoi, Cyprus, wearing Egyptianizing dress. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2470. H. 135 cm. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874-76.)



Fig. 7. Sculpture found at Golgoi, Cyprus, wearing Egyptianizing dress. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2472. H. 130 cm. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874-76.)

most register to the presumed neckline of the figure, we can assume that there was no additional register close to the neck, but only a thin band constituting the inner border of the collar. Four thin bands accordingly acted as separators of the three registers, as well as outlines of the collar.

The two loop-shaped devices in the inner-most register can be identified as reproductions of mandrake or persea fruits.⁵⁹ This much appreciated Egyptian vegetal ornament has given rise to some controversy regarding its exact botanical identification.⁶⁰ It is not an uncommon motif on Cypriote figures clad in Egyptian dress.⁶¹ A certain number of these Cypriote occurrences display an attachment between the fruit and the thin band bordering the frieze,⁶² encouraging us to consider what objects and materials served as models for the stone sculptors who produced the Egyptian-dressed figures.

The hanging triangles of the second register, and the outer row of drops, shall be understood as stylized vegetal forms as well. We have seen how the row of triangles, placed tip down, overlies a vertically striped cable recessed into the stone, while recessed drops, bordered by a thin band, constitute the outline of the collar. As on so many other Cypriote Egyptianizing sculptures, the triangle ornaments found on the collar of NM Sk 1550 most probably reflect the actual leaves knit onto Egyptian broad collars, or the reproduction of these leaves in more durable materials.⁶³ Underneath the triangles, that is the stylized leaves, one can trace the components of the collar, in the case of NM Sk 1550 a striped cable; we

can only hypothesize as to what it is supposed to reflect.⁶⁴

To seek the model for this vegetal or floral collar, we shall have to go back to the New Kingdom Egyptian dress, and the elaboration that can be witnessed in sculpture and relief work from Amenhotep III (18th Dynasty) onwards. The general elaboration taking place in the art of the period involved the introduction of vegetal broad collars in reproductions of Pharaohs, noblemen and -women.⁶⁵ The collars were made of actual flowers, leaves, and fruits, knit onto semicircular sheets of papyrus. More durable variants were the collars made out of mould-made beads of polychrome faïence, glass, semiprecious stones, or precious metals that repeated the shapes of the most well-known and appreciated vegetal forms.⁶⁶ Indeed we have preserved ancient Egyptian collars of both types.⁶⁷

As for the outer row of drops, it is the standard border element on unadorned, broad collars from the Old Kingdom onwards and it continues to be such throughout Egyptian history.⁶⁸ Note, however, that the floral collar is a New Kingdom phenomenon, and that in the Late Period – that is contemporary with the manufacture of the Cypriote figures in Egyptian dress – the broad collar virtually has ceased to exist in three-dimensional Egyptian representations.⁶⁹

While discussing the two above-mentioned sculptures from the Cesnola collection in New York, we learned that the ornaments of the collar of NM Sk 1550 are not uncommon among Cypriote sculptures in Egyptian dress. The same applies to

the placing of the belt, low on the figure's hips, which distinguishes several of these figures – and indeed makes up a characteristic of Egyptian male statuary. The decoration of the belt, however, a goat, a lion, and a four-winged scarab,⁷⁰ is foreign to Egyptian art. Moreover, close parallels for this constellation of creatures are, as mentioned, altogether lacking in the Cypriote material in general. A more detailed description and analysis is required for this uncommon motif. It must be emphasized that this analysis, and the following attempts at tracing possible models for the frieze, are complex and difficult matters. An attempt will be made, though, within the limited frame of this article.

The three animals – a horned goat, a roaring lion, and a four-winged scarab – form part of an animal frieze (Figs. 4 and 8). They are neatly fit into the frame of the belt, occupying the entire width of it. Paws and hooves are resting softly on the lower border, while the tip of the scarab's wing touches the upper one. The disparate scale between the beetle and the two mammals seemingly was no cause of concern to the artist. The three creatures are placed at regular intervals from one another, the tiny distance between the left front hoof of the goat and the right hind paw of the lion more or less equalling that between the lion's muzzle and the scarab's upper wing. The fact that the hind legs of the goat and the lion have different positions is a simple but refined means of adding to the impression of movement.⁷¹ We can only hypothesize as to the continuation of the frieze.⁷²

The position of the legs indicates

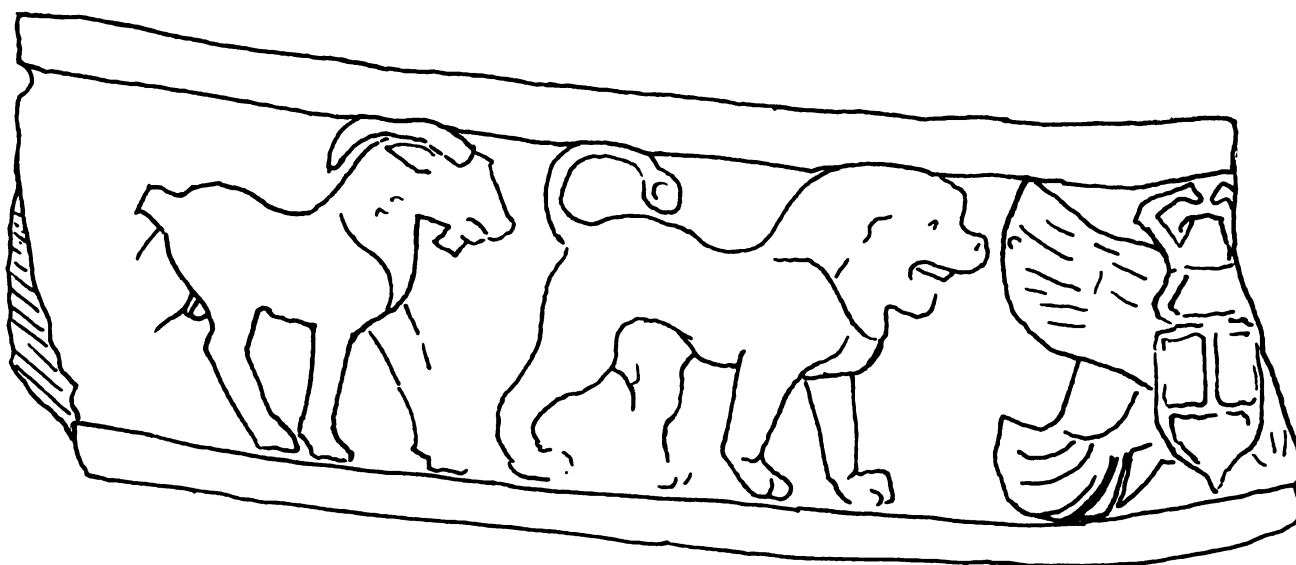


Fig. 8. Drawing of the animal frieze depicted on the belt of NM Sk 1550. (Drawing by the author.)

that the goat is moving forward at a good pace. Its horns are curved back parallel to the neck line and the ear, and reach half way down to the withers. The neck is broad and strong, the shoulder line marked by incision. The muzzle, mouth, and beard are clearly rendered, the eye, though, only faintly preserved. The goat's tail is stubby. Between the hind legs the genitals can be seen.

The lion is slightly leaning forward, its tail alertly raised and jaws wide open. The outline of the mane is marked by incised lines, its lower border coinciding with the rounded shoulder line. Unfortunately, the details of the head are blurred by erosion. Some details of the front right paw can be distinguished, while the other paws are mostly worn off. Individual toes on the well-preserved paw are evident, and a tip-toe stance is possible to distinguish on the right front and back paws. The neck of the lion is massive, in contrast to its slender body, where the contour from

the breast over stomach and groin down to the tip of the right back paw is virtually one single beautifully curved line.

The four-winged scarab is only partially preserved: of the right pair of wings and its right front foot, merely a fraction can be seen. The body is characteristically tripartite, consisting of a main body, a slightly triangular area to which the front feet are attached, and the head. The main body has a pointed end, a tip which almost reaches down to the lower border of the belt. The body is not only characteristically vertically divided by a central line, here rendered in low relief,⁷³ but also has a horizontal edge that, when meeting the borders of the body, continues down towards the pointed end, making the main body in itself tripartite. Its front feet are raised and drawn together above the head, almost touching it. There is no sign of the solar disc, often held – or rather pushed – by the creature in ancient

iconography. While the upper left wing stems from the scarab's body, the lower seems to be attached mainly to the former. Both wings are feathered. It is difficult to interpret the area between the lower wing and the lower part of the scarab's body. We can see two pointed devices touching the lower border of the belt, and since they differ from the rounded lower outline of the wing itself, they may represent back feet of the creature, alternatively constituting a vague mix of the creature's back foot and an elaboration of the lower wing.

Before evaluating possible parallels for this animal frieze, let us initially limit our concern to the general feature of belts carrying decoration on Cypriote figures. Several outfits of the Archaic Cypriote votive statuary require a belt, whether long garments resting on the feet, or short tunics, both types held together in the waist by the named belt.⁷⁴ Primarily, though, we find belts on kilt-wearing Egyptianizing figures,

as well as on statues of the so-called Herakles-Melqart type. Belts with decoration have, as far as we know, exclusively been found on these two last groups of figures.⁷⁵ Admittedly, we know of only two examples of Cypriote Herakles-Melqart figures wearing decorated belts (Fig. 9),⁷⁶ but figures in Egyptian dress are repeatedly furnished with this characteristic.⁷⁷ Most relevant when discussing the decorated belt of NM Sk 1550 are two Cypriote limestone fragments in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, both found at Golgoi (Figs. 10 and 11).⁷⁸ These two interesting pieces are the only additional examples known to us of statuary from the island which display figural decorations on belts. Both fragments deserve thorough analyses of their own, but here they are merely presented as parallel phenomena to NM Sk 1550. The pieces thus constitute parts of the belts of figures where tiny bits of the garments below the belts are visible, just as in the case of the Stockholm torso. Seemingly, both fragments once belonged to kilt-clad Egyptianizing sculptures, since remains of the lateral sashends are visible in both objects,⁷⁹ and since the edges of the two belts are raised.⁸⁰ One of the belt fragments contains a frieze of crouching winged sphinxes facing right, placed at regular intervals from each other (Fig. 10).⁸¹ Two of the sphinxes are well-preserved, the third is fragmentary. Both well-preserved creatures are bearded and wear conical head-dresses, their almond-shaped wings left undecorated. On the second and, especially, third – less well-preserved – creature, long tails are visible.⁸² The other belt fragment displays a figural scene



Fig. 9. Statuette of the Herakles Melqart type, with decorated belt. Museo Barracco, Rome, Inv. no. 63. H. ca. 30 cm. (Courtesy of the Museo Barracco, Rome.)



Fig. 10. Fragment from the belt of a kilt-clad figure, decorated by crouching winged sphinxes. From Golgoi, Cyprus. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2676. H. 18 cm. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874–76.)



Fig. 11. Fragment from the belt of a kilt-clad figure, decorated by man fighting lion. From Golgoi, Cyprus. The Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2594. H. 16 cm. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cesnola Collection: Purchased by subscription, 1874–76.)

flanked by two seemingly identical floral ornaments, so-called paradise flowers, of which only one is completely preserved (Fig. 11).⁸³ This ornament seems to be a Phoenician development of the Egyptian papyrus flower,⁸⁴ and is found in abundance in Phoenician ivory-carvings from the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. It is well-known in Cypriote art as well, indeed also from the collars and crowns of Egyptianizing figures.⁸⁵ The scene which is seemingly the central feature of the belt depicts an encounter between a man and a roaring lion. With the left hand, the man grasps the creature's front leg, while the right pushes a dagger or sword into its breast.⁸⁶ To fit the composition, the outstretched left arm is unrealistically prolonged.⁸⁷ The bearded figure wears a headcover and something that seems tied around the neck and hanging down on the back, recalling the lion skin of Herakles.⁸⁸ The body of the opposing lion is schematically – although vividly – rendered, with lack of correspondence between the different parts of the body. Its legs, particularly the front ones, have awkward positions, the paws are merely rounded lumps. The tail is curved, but hangs low behind the animal. Surprisingly, individual teeth can be seen in the wide-open jaws, and the ferocious eye adds to the impression of aggressiveness. Indeed, the lion of the New York fragment bears no close stylistic resemblance to the lion on the belt of the Stockholm torso.⁸⁹

Tracing artistic influences

These are the Cypriote parallels for the general feature of belt carrying

figural decoration. As we shall see, though, the triad on the belt of NM Sk 1550 is unique. We do not know of any parallels for this constellation of creatures, neither in sculpture nor in any other material category from the island. When we widen our perspective to reach outside the island as well, the correspondence with animal friezes of Corinthian pottery is immediately obvious.⁹⁰ A Late Protocorinthian *olpe* in the British Museum, furnished with one single band of parading animals, provides a parallel in this respect (Fig. 12).⁹¹ Apart from stag, bulls, panther, and boar, a roaring lion, a horned goat, and a (winged) siren fill the frieze. The siren is not satisfactorily corresponding to the winged scarab; indeed, the scarab or winged scarab is completely unknown in Corinthian art.⁹² However, the typological parallels between the goat and lion in the BM *olpe*, and the counterparts on the Cypriote torso under study, are

obvious: the direction of movement and position of the legs of both set of creatures,⁹³ the marked shoulder lines, the general absence of body details, the Hittite-type lions,⁹⁴ with their tip-toe stance, individual toes, alertly raised tails, and wide open jaws, and the goats' long horns, beards, stubby tails, and genitals, are all strikingly similar. Naturally, the several divergences need to be stressed: the massive necks of both goat and lion on NM Sk 1550 are not repeated in the Protocorinthian animals, and the direction of the goats' horns, the groins of the lions, as well as the ear rendered on the BM lion but missing on the Cypriote counterpart, are all different.

Few examples of Corinthian ceramics have been found on Cyprus,⁹⁵ and apart from this fact, we would be at a loss regarding the inspiration for the stone sculptor behind the torso under study; a sculptor copying in stone from a

beautifully painted, imported wine jug seems a far-fetched idea.

Imported metal objects may have played a decisive rôle as inspiration for Corinthian Archaic pottery,⁹⁶ as for much of the other Greek material which has been categorized as Orientalizing; new vase-shapes, the black-figure technique with engraved details, alongside a predilection for continuous animal friezes are often held to exemplify this.⁹⁷ To judge by the delicate, low relief of the animals on the present belt, along with their sharp, precise contours, it does not seem impossible to imagine a metal belt being rendered in stone.⁹⁸ Indeed, such metal belts, decorated in the *repoussé* technique, are known to us through the archaeological material record.⁹⁹

In this context, it is highly interesting to note that the closest parallel for the winged scarab of the NM Sk 1550 animal frieze comes from a frieze on a metal vessel, the

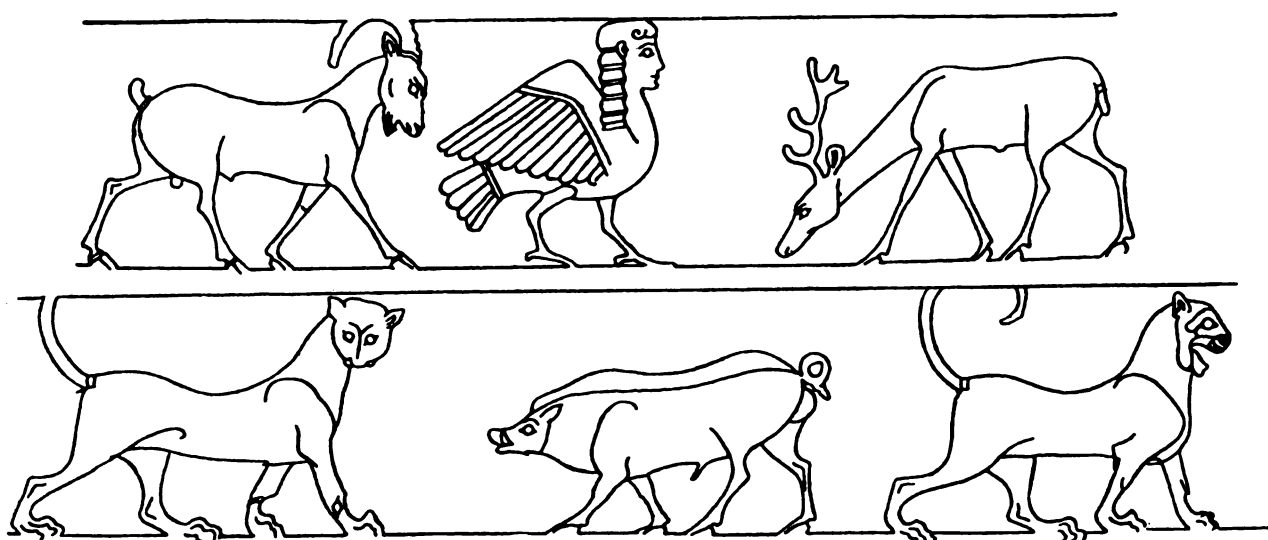


Fig. 12. Part of a frieze from a Protocorinthian *olpe*, ca. 630 B.C. Provenance unknown. The British Museum, Inv. no. A 1009. (After Payne 1931, pl. 10.5-6.)

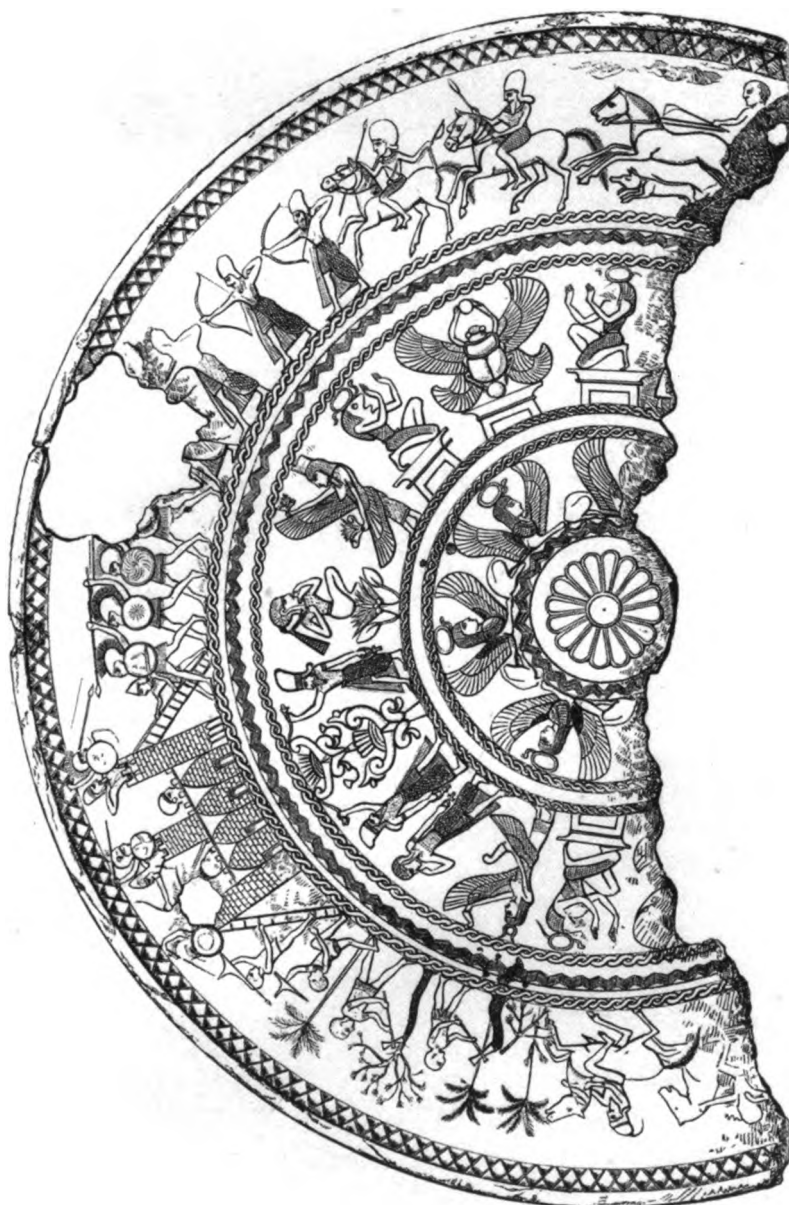


Fig. 13. Drawing of the so-called Amathus bowl, a silver bowl decorated in the *repoussé* technique. From the necropolis at Amathus, Cyprus, ca. 660–650 B.C. The British Museum, London, Inv. no. WA 123053. Diameter: 18.5 cm. (After Cesnola 1879, pl. 51.)

so-called Amathus bowl (Fig. 13).

This 7th century Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl decorated in the *repoussé* technique was found in a grave in the necropolis at Amathus, on the southern coast of Cyprus.¹⁰⁰ The fragmentary bowl, 18.5 cm in diameter, displays three registers of decoration containing a variety of scenes, one of which contains crouching figures apparently paying homage to a four-winged scarab, all set onto low but wide pedestals.¹⁰¹ The scarab is strikingly similar to the creature on the NM Sk 1550 belt frieze, displaying the same characteristics rendered with the same (low) degree of stylization. The proportions of the beetles are nearly identical, as are the shape and placing of the feathered wings. The main bodies of the creatures differ slightly, in that the scarab engraved on the silver bowl has a “normal”, vertically divided body which lacks the odd horizontal partition present in the lower part of the main body of the limestone beetle. This, and the fact that the scarab on the silver bowl grasps two solar discs with the front and hind pair of feet respectively, does not alter the fact that the two creatures are typologically very close.

The scarab on the silver bowl from Amathus is one of very few renderings of the creature that have been found on Cyprus.¹⁰² With its four wings, it differs – together with the creature on NM Sk 1550 – from the two-winged scarab beetle encountered in Egyptian art.¹⁰³ In his analysis of the iconography of the “Amathus bowl”, A. Hermay suggests that while the two-winged scarab is of Egyptian origin, beetles with four wings indicate the spread

and transfiguration of the type.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, the four-winged scarab abounds in metal and ivory work of Phoenician or Levantine manufacture from the first half of the first millennium B.C.¹⁰⁵

The two fragmentary belts presented above (Figs. 10 and 11) provide the closest parallels for the phenomenon of figural decoration on belts of Egyptianizing figures from the island. The motifs known from the three belts are thus: an animal frieze, including a winged scarab; a man draped in a lion skin who – grabbing it by its front paw – stabs a lion with a sword, “paradise flower” ornaments on both sides of the scene; and crouching winged sphinxes. It seems more than a coincidence that all these motifs are repeatedly found in the registers decorating Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls.¹⁰⁶ Not only is there an obvious thematic correspondence of motifs, the typological similarities between certain incised metal figures and the sculpted stone counterparts are also clear. We saw above the parallels between the two winged scarabs, and similarly, the lion on the belt of NM 1550 indeed resembles the incised lion on a silver bowl found at Idalion.¹⁰⁷

The core of the Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls has been dated more than half a century earlier than any of the Cypriote figures in Egyptian dress known to us.¹⁰⁸ The fact that there seems to be a correspondence between the iconography favoured by 7th century B.C. metal artisans, and that applied by 6th century B.C. stone sculptors to the belts of large-sized figures, is challenging.¹⁰⁹ For the time being, we can present no satisfying explanation for this.

To get any further, we need to take a step back and recollect. We have a situation, where a limited part of the Cypriote patrons are ordering votive figures in Egyptian New Kingdom dress, adorning them with well-known ornaments from an Egyptianizing repertoire that since long had been an expression of an upper class taste or fashion in and around Cyprus.¹¹⁰ To simply ascribe the large-scale Egyptianizing votive figures made out of limestone to a similar expression of fashion proves difficult. First, figures of all sizes have been found at several different sanctuary sites from around the island. Details of their dress and ornaments are remarkably homogeneous,¹¹¹ and they seem to have been manufactured during a limited timespan. There seems to be a stronger driving force behind these similarities than mere aesthetics. Second, the New Kingdom dress of the Cypriote figures rather suggests an indirect Phoenician influence than a direct Egyptian, an hypothesis based on the assumption that the elaborate New Kingdom dress would have continued to signal what was “typically Egyptian” in an artistic tradition placed outside Egypt itself, all the way down through the Archaic period. An indirect influence is further indicated by the frequent misunderstandings of the details of the Egyptian dress – mainly the kilt – found in several of the Cypriote figures.¹¹² The ornaments of these figures rather reflect a Levantine than an Egyptian source of inspiration,¹¹³ not least evidenced by the decoration found on the belts of Egyptianizing figures, presented here. Further, Cypriote-style figures in Egyptian dress have been found in

large quantities in at least two sanctuaries on the Phoenician mainland.¹¹⁴ These sculptures may have been imported from Cyprus or manufactured locally by Cypriote sculptors.¹¹⁵

All the above rather suggest to us that the Cypriote Egyptianizing figures represent a religious structure, that indeed seems to have been common to certain sanctuaries in Cyprus, and others along the Phoenician coast. We need a common background to explain these faithfully rendered but frequently misunderstood details of dress and jewellery repeated over time and across space. To explore the contents of such a structure, if at all possible, would require a thorough and systematic analysis of all the available evidence, both archaeological and iconographical.

Conclusion

We have seen how the torso under study belongs to a group of Cypriote votive sculpture which has been termed the Egyptianizing group.¹¹⁶ The figures are set apart from other Archaic sculpture produced on the island by their shared characteristics of Egyptian dress and jewellery, and make out a comparatively small group among the rich Cypriote votive sculptural tradition. The figures were produced mainly during the 6th century B.C.

The broad collar worn by the torso in Stockholm shares the vegetal ornaments with basically all other Cypriote figures furnished with the same dress element. The mandrake or persea fruits, the stylized leaves, and the outer row of petals are faithfully echoing the standard set of decoration

on Egyptian New Kingdom floral collars. It has previously been shown, that the type of kilt worn by the Cypriote figures – and by NM Sk 1550, if we are to judge by the traces of the sashends – is a kind of dress in vogue in Egypt during the same early period.¹¹⁷ The low placing of the belt, so characteristic of Egyptian statuary, can be found in several examples of Cypriote figures clad in this kind of dress.¹¹⁸

The winged scarab on the belt of our torso is indeed an Egyptian ornament, but its four wings most probably testify to a transfiguration of the motif taking place outside Egypt. The closest parallel comes from a metal bowl of Cypro-Phoenician manufacture found at Amathus, and this fact taken together with the appearance of the figural relief lead us to propose a metal belt serving as model for the sculptor behind the frieze. Correspondingly, depictions of crouching winged sphinxes, men fighting lions, and the paradise flower ornament have been found on both the belts of Egyptianizing figures and on Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls, respectively. It is suggested that the figurally decorated belts of the Egyptianizing figures – including that of NM Sk 1550 – are (Cypriote) versions in stone of an iconography we know mainly from (Phoenician) metal artefacts. The constellation of creatures in NM Sk 1550 is unique, however, and we cannot present any close parallels for the triad goat, lion, and scarab neither from the island nor outside it. The two objects that have been discussed in connection with the frieze – a Protocorinthian *olpe* and an engraved silver bowl – can both be dated to around or slightly later than

650 B.C. The soft modelling of the fragmentary male body would, on the other hand, be difficult to conceive before the middle of the 6th century B.C.

The torso in Stockholm was thus made from Cypriote limestone during the second half of the 6th century B.C. Its dress recalls the New Kingdom outfit, found in Egypt almost a millennium earlier. We are faced with a task of explaining not only why the New Kingdom iconography remained in vogue in the art of the Phoenician or south Levantine area down to the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., but also how this style came to be transmitted to Cyprus during the 6th century B.C. Tentatively, we have argued that the homogenous group of figures in Egyptian dress is too wide spread – on the island in general and in its sanctuaries in particular – to be explained simply by taste or fashion. We have emphasized the possibility of a religious context, elusive to us, lying behind a continuity (or reawakening) of this kind, and explaining the faithfully rendered but frequently misunderstood details of dress and jewellery. The interesting question how the ideas behind the Egyptianizing style changed or evolved through time, and from area to area, is indeed a difficult one, but we do believe that much new knowledge can be gained through a thorough analysis of these Cypriote figures – with the Phoenician material taken into consideration.

NOTES

1. The approximate original height of the figure would have been around 200–220 cm.

2. Flakes have come off on several parts of the torso, revealing the porous material underneath the worked surface of the stone.

3. The upper hole on the side of the body (2.5 cm at the deepest), which is placed at the level of the breast, has counterparts on the inner side of the arm. Of these two holes, one is shallow, while the other – placed in the crook of the fragmentary arm – is 3 cm deep. On the sculpture's right hip, just where the belt ends up, two holes are placed obliquely one above the other. Diameter of the lower hole: 2 cm. The upper one measures 1.5 cm in diameter, 1 cm in depth. The lower one is placed centrally on the highest point of the hip. It is bigger and deeper than its counterpart and has caused more damage: cracks radiate from it. In it are traces of an iron peg.

4. Diameter: 4 cm. No depths can be given for the holes containing traces of iron.

5. In fact, there is a rough triangular area on the hip, just underneath the belt, which is probably the point of attachment.

6. The male Egyptian dress referred to here is described and explained in footnote 11. Similar traces of the sashends – or indeed sashends and the thin body of a vertically hanging cobra – can be seen on a life-size figure from Golgoi (formerly part of the Cesnola collection at the Metropolitan Museum in New York), where large part of the sculpted surface of the kilt is worn off, (Cesnola 1885, pl. V:7). We know of no examples from Cyprus where a votive sculpture wears the Egyptian broad collar but not the kilt. Several examples of the contrary are at hand; note however that collars may have been rendered in ephemeral paint on these figures.

7. There are no traces of nipple or navel. However, we find no short sleeve on the arm that would indicate a tight-fitting tunic.

8. This is the commonly used French version of the transcription of the Egyptian word for "broad", *wsh*.

9. This group of figures is referred to as "Egyptianizing" in literature on Cypriote votive sculpture, a term that needs to be discussed and defined before being used. See the thought-provoking article by C. Lilyquist (1998), and also Lewy (1975, 40 and 106, note 167). For an in-depth study of the Cypriote sculptures in Egyptian dress: Fagersten 2003.

10. Although limestone is, by far, the material most commonly used, figures in bronze (several statuettes), terracotta (two statuettes and one colossal figure), and serpentinite (one miniature statuette) have been found. See respectively *Bronze*: Dikaios 1961, pl. XXV, 4; Reyes 1994, pl.

11 a-c; *Terracotta*: Pottier 1894, pl. XVII:1 and 4; The Louvre, Inv. nos AM 336 and 337; Karageorghis 1993, pl. XIX:5 (also figs. 18-19); *Serpentinite*: Markoe 1988, pl. V:1-3. A certain amount of Egyptianizing faïence figurines and amulets have been found, see for example Clerc, Karageorghis et al. 1976, 139, pl. XII-XIII (Kit. 439).

11. In ancient Egyptian iconography, we find several types of kilts. The royal *shenti* consists of a piece of kilt-cloth, often pleated, which overlaps in the front. Underneath the overlapping cloth hangs a centrally placed, partially visible, apron. From the Middle Kingdom onwards – and particularly during the New Kingdom – the kilt-cloth supplemented by a much-decorated centrally placed device, a so-called *devanteau*, is very common. The *devanteau*, as is obvious from its French name, hangs in front or on top of the kilt-cloth, as opposed to the apron. These two devices – the Egyptian plain apron, partially covered by the kilt-cloth, and the frontally placed *devanteau* decorated by hanging cobras – are confused in Cypriote

iconography, see below note 55. Accompanying the New Kingdom kilt with *devanteau* are virtually always elaborate textile sashes whose ends hang down on either side of the device, covering part of the kilt. The standard number of ends is three on each side. See Vogelsang-Eastwood 1999, 58-62, and fig. 6:9, p. 103 for a beautiful reconstruction drawing.

12. E. Gubel discusses the divine and hence royal attitude of arm bent across the chest (Gubel 1991, 135). See below, note 33.

13. We know of a statuette holding a small, round object in one hand, while an oblong item – maybe a piece of cloth or animal skin (?) – hangs over the other arm (the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. no. B. 61). Yet another statuette of unknown provenance presses a small lion under the left arm (de Ridder 1908, pl. IV:10). H.-G. Buchholz identifies an Egyptian *ankh*-sign in the right hand of a limestone statuette from Tamassos wearing kilt and *usekh*, (Buchholz 1993, 199 #18, tav. LIV:1). Finally, a tiny soldier dressed in a decorated kilt rests his right hand on the grip of his sword, rendered as if attached to a band that hangs from his right shoulder diagonally over the chest (Cesnola 1885, pl. XLII:265, but for a clearer picture see Myres 1914, 157, no. 1049). Related is Cesnola 1885, pl. XLII:279. Interestingly, the Egyptianizing figures found at Phoenician sanctuary sites almost invariably carry an animal under one arm.

14. Hermary 1989, 50, no. 64, the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. no. 1962/V-16/3.

15. There are no known examples of Cypriote figures in Egyptian dress with the back-pillar support so characteristic of Egyptian statuary.

16. The remarkable "royal tombs" at Salamis, dating to the late 8th/early 7th centuries B.C., give ample witness to this taste (Karageorghis 1974). The Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls, engraved with Egyptianizing motifs, belong to the late

8th but mainly 7th century, (Markoe 1985, 149-156). It is, however, during the 6th century B.C. that the phenomenon is the most wide spread, and expressed in a wide variety of media.

17. The Hathor capitals of limestone are characteristic, but have not as yet been exhaustively treated. They have been dealt with, though, in various articles, see for the most thorough analysis Hermary 1985. We find Hathoric heads in several other media as well, for example embossed in metal and painted on ceramics (Pierides 1971, pl. XIII:2; Shefton 1989, figs. 8a-b). The same is true for the Bes-figures that we find in three dimensions (a limestone figure of colossal size wearing a decorated Egyptian-type kilt), in stone relief, as well as in the form of a plastic lamp holder, see respectively Hermary 1995, pl. III:1-2; V. Tatton-Brown, in: Hermary 1981, 74-83, no. 80, pl. 15; Masson 1971, fig. 13. Both Hathor and Bes heads are found on the aprons/*devanteaux* of Egyptian-type kilts, (Cesnola 1885, pl. XXII:50 and pl. LIV:347). There is further a group of falcon-headed figures which recall the Egyptian god Horus, of which one, a statuette found at Amathus, wears an Egyptian-type kilt with decorations (Cesnola 1885, pl. XXIV:58). A. Hermary treats these figures as priests wearing masks, (Hermary 1989, 290). There are further the so-called Baal Hammon figures, seated on miniature thrones, sometimes flanked by sphinxes, (Hermary 1989, 484, #999. For a general survey see Sophocleous 1985, 162-182 ("Les divinités égyptiennes").

18. For sphinxes wearing plain head-dresses or kerchiefs, see, for example, Karageorghis 1976, 870, fig. 61 and Karageorghis 1987, 666, fig. 6. See further the recumbent limestone sphinxes and lions which were discovered in Tamassos in January 1997 (Karageorghis 1998, pl. XXX:2 reproduces one set of creatures).

19. These ornaments, indeed originally to be found in Egyptian iconography, are among the most wide-spread during the Iron Age. (Parayre 1990, 269-270).

20. Gjerstad 1948, fig. XLIX, 12, 9 b and L:11, 3 b.

21. Sophocleous 1985, pl. XLV:2 (the British Museum, Inv. no. A 149).

22. Masson 1982, fig. 4.

23. Gjerstad 1948, fig. 24:2, 3 and 8.

24. Myres 1914, 134–135, and Pryce 1931, 7 and 11. See also Gjerstad 1948, 357.

25. Hdt. 2.182 and Diod. Sic. 1.68.6. Diodorus writes: "He (Amasis) also reduced the cities of Cyprus and adorned many temples with noteworthy votive offerings". A sculpture in New York which is wearing the Egyptian double crown (Inv. no. 74.51.2472, see fig. 7) was considered by Myres to represent Amasis himself; Pryce followed in this (Myres 1914, 135 and 226; Pryce 1931, 16).

26. South 1987, 78. See the remark by Reyes (1994, 4): "Inherent also in Gjerstad's understanding of the Cypro-Archaic period was a belief in an essential enmity between Cyprus and the different foreign powers with which the island was in contact. Indeed, his vocabulary seems suspiciously derived from the experience of two World Wars". Of course, much remains to be said on the historical background of the period. This is evident not least in Haider (1987). See also Edel (1978), commented upon by Leahy (1988).

27. It must not be overlooked, however, that a parallel acknowledgement of a possible intermediary role played by the Phoenician cities has been there all along; (Cesnola 1885, text in connection to pl. VII:9; and Gjerstad 1948, 356–357).

28. Lewe 1975, 57–61, 75–78.

29. Dunand 1944–1948, pls. XV:4, XVI:6–9, XVII:10–13 and Dunand & Saliby 1985, pls. XLIII:1 and XLIV, sculptures from the sanctuary or Ma'abed at Amrit, just outside Tartus on the Syrian coast; Stucky 1993, Taf. 6:12–13, 7:15–16, sculptures from the Eshmun sanctuary outside

Sidon, modern Saïda in Lebanon; and Doumet Serhal et al. 1998, 67, no. 26, another figure found at Sidon. There are examples of figures in Egyptianizing dress from the area which do not display the same recognizable Cypriote style. See two figures found at Kharayeb, south-east of Sidon (Kaoukabani 1973, pl. XVI:1–2, and a limestone statuette found at Tyre (Doumet Serhal et al. 1998, 65, no. 24).

30. Eric Gubel, personal communication, 1998. There is, however, local limestone as well. The need for petrographic analyses to distinguish local from imported stone has been put forward by Jourdain-Annequin (1993, 72). For such a study, carried out on the highly interesting Amrit sculptural material, see Lembke 2004.

31. Maier 1989, 385–386.

32. Markoe 1990.

33. Markoe 1990, 113–116. The pleated kilt with a centrally placed *devanteau* decorated by hanging cobras is a characteristic of both Middle and New Kingdom statuary. However, the addition of three pendant sashends on each side of the *devanteau*, of a small feline head placed on the *devanteau* just underneath the belt, as well as an ornate broad collar covering the shoulders are all reflecting the increased elaborateness of dress found from Amenhotep III onwards (18th Dynasty) (Vander 1958). Even the position of the arms of the Cypriote figures is held by Markoe (p. 115) to be a pose introduced during the New Kingdom period, ca. 1500–1150 B.C.; see Vandier 1958, 322–323. A. Hermary notes that this is not a canonical stance in Late Period (contemporary) Egyptian sculpture, see Hermary 1981, 16 notes 8–11.

34. Markoe 1990, 118–119. The argument put forward in 1990 was partly preceded in Markoe 1987, 125.

35. Besides the fact that the Greek facial features of the figures would contradict an ethnical manifesto being made, Wriedt Sørensen found difficulties in Markoe's

evaluation of the political reality during the late 6th century B.C. on Cyprus (Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 81–82).

36. Cesnola 1885, pl. XXIV:58: the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2516. This figure, recalling the Egyptian god Horus, is identified by Wriedt Sørensen – as well as by A. Hermary – as a priest wearing an animal's mask (Hermary 1981, 17–18). Hermary interprets the limited group of similar figures the same way, see note 17.

37. Wriedt Sørensen 1994, 82.

38. The groups are essentially based on the classification presented by A. Hermary in his 1989 Louvre publication, (Hermary 1989). The term *shenti* is avoided in this paper, but see note 11 for a short explanation of the garment as such.

39. The need for a similar – although large-scale – analysis of the Cypriote votive sculpture has been put forward by, among others, Reyes (1994, 36).

40. Pryce 1931, 16. See, in addition, notes 24–25.

41. Vermeule 1974. Vermeule's dating is restricted, as well; at least too restricted for the wide-ranging types and forms of the figures clad in Egyptian dress.

42. Gaber-Saletan 1986, 57–62; Markoe 1990, 112. Whereas P. Gaber-Saletan (p. 62) stresses that: "...figures in Egyptian dress occur in virtually all periods of Cypriote sculpture production", G. Markoe (pp. 118–119) argues that the Egyptianizing group belongs within the restricted time span 525–475 B.C.

43. Hermary 1981, 16–17; Hermary 1989, 50, no. 64; Senff 1993, 51–52, Taf. 34:a–c, 34:d–f, and 36:a–c.

44. Senff 1993, 53.

45. Maier & Wartburg 1985, 156–157, with full bibliography – to date. For the "Priest King", see pl. VI:3.

46. It is interesting to note that a local production of large-size stone sculpture with Egyptian dress continues on the Phoenician mainland, at least if we are to trust the Hellenistic date of the material found at Umm el-'Amed, outside Tyre; (Dunand & Duru 1962, pls. XXX:1 and LXXXIII:2-3).

47. Note that an emphasis can be seen towards the southern and eastern parts of the island. However, since sites like Kazaphani in the northernmost part of Cyprus has rendered elaborately decorated Egyptianizing pieces, it seems fair not to restrict the perspective too much.

48. We currently know of about 110 examples – figures and fragments – from the island. Of course, this number is dependant on how the group is being defined.

49. The kilts of the figures present good examples of correspondences in detail, for example the presence, number, and shape of the sashends, and the presence of vertically hanging cobras. Further, as will be evidenced below, of the seventeen elaborate Cypro-Egyptian floral collars known to us, as many as ten share the same three distinct features which are found on the Stockholm torso; mandrake or persea fruits, triangles, and hanging drops.

50. Cesnola 1885, pls. IV:6 and XLIII:280: the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. nos. 74.51.2470 and 74.51.2472.

51. As mentioned above, we avoid using the term *shenti*, since – strictly speaking – this royal Egyptian garment is not found on any of the known Cypriote figures, but only variants or partly misunderstood hybrids thereof. See notes 11 and 55.

52. This is the most common appearance of the Cypriote Egyptianizing kilt.

53. See note 11. There is further an extra pair of coiling snakes decorating the apron.

54. Elaborate textile sashes with multiple

ends were tied around the waists of Egyptian kilt bearers. On top of the textile belt or sash was often placed a metal counterpart. Since the ends of these sashes are not rendered together with *devanteaux* in Middle Kingdom art, while practically always accompanying the device in the New Kingdom period, we shall have to view them as part of the general enrichment or elaboration of dress taking place during this influential period of Egyptian history – and art history. See note 33.

55. A kilt-cloth overlapping in the front, partly covering an apron with concave sides, are indeed characteristics of the Egyptian royal kilt called a *shenti*, see above note 11. However, since the apron of fig. 7 is decorated by hanging cobras – and even with four “sashends” – we are instead witnessing another Cypriote mix of different Egyptian dress elements, in this case combining the elements of a *shenti* with an apron that has the characteristic decoration of a *devanteau* – topped by a misunderstanding of the sashends, both as regards function and placing!

56. The preserved height of the two figures from Golgoi are 135 and 130 cm respectively; originally they may have reached about 185 and 175 cm.

57. The shoulders are most notably pronounced in NM Sk 1550 and Inv. no. 74.51.2470, that is our Figs. 1 and 6.

58. We saw above (note 7) how the upper part of the body of NM Sk 1550 most probably is naked, and the same seems to be true for the two Golgoi figures.

59. A similar identification has already been proposed by C. Doumet Serhal regarding identical ornaments on an Egyptianizing sculpture found at Sidon, mentioned above, presumably of Cypriote manufacture. (Doumet Serhal 1998, 28). See note 29.

60. The mandrake plant (*Mandragora officinalis* L.) and the persea tree (*Mimusops schimperi* Hochst.) both carry a fruit which is oval, yellowish, and about 3 cm

in length. While the mandrake is mildly narcotic and was celebrated as an aphrodisiac in ancient times, the persea fruit is edible with a sweet taste. These fruits are standardized when depicted in Egyptian art, to a point which makes it quite impossible to separate them. While no actual mandrake fruit or plant has ever been found in an Egyptian tomb, the persea fruit has been found repeatedly, and leaves from its tree were one of the main elements used for making garlands and bouquets for the dead. See Germer 1985, 148–149 and 169–171; Germer 1989, 9–12, and Schoske et al. 1992, 59–62. For more on the ancient Egyptian ideas connected with these fruits, see Derchain 1975, 72, 84–86.

61. Apart from the two New York-figures, and the sculpture from Sidon mentioned above (notes 29 and 59), we know of eight Cypriote figures with elaborate collars displaying similar fruits. Note that the mandrake or persea ornament is found decorating the broad collars of sphinxes, as well. See, for a Cypriote example, a fragment of the body (and wing) of a sphinx from Amathus, (Cesnola 1885, pl. XXVII:82, but for a better picture: Comstock & Vermeule 1976, 268, no. 426). For a Phoenician one, see the collars of two sphinxes flanking a stone throne found in the Hellenistic sanctuary at Umm el-'Amed, on the Phoenician coast (Dunand & Duru 1962, pl. LXVII:1–3). See above, note 46.

62. Cesnola 1885, pl. XLIII:280: the above-mentioned New York figure Inv. no. 74.51.2472, fig. 7. (Brönnér 1994, pl. XV:b–c, provides a better picture); Comstock & Vermeule 1976, 268, no. 426).

63. Wilson 1986, nos. 46–47, provides instructive drawings of the arrangement of the leaves. See also Germer 1988, 4, for a garland made of persea- and lotus leaves. For depictions in art, see, for example, the famous bust of queen Nefertiti from Tell el-Amarna (Leclant 1979, 173, fig. 159), and a statuette of Pharaoh Amenhotep III, (p. 161, fig. 149). The vegetal qualities are even more

evident on a small glazed bowl, also from the 18th Dynasty, that has a painted floral decoration, 246, fig. 249. Markoe uses the Amenhotep III statuette to make similar comparisons, (Markoe 1990, 120, note 20).

64. On an Egyptian counterpart, a string of pearls could have been indicated in this way. In the few cases we know, the floral collars consisting of real flowers and leaves had pearls and beads for decoration and stabilization, see below note 67.

65. The phenomenon is well known; examples abound in both wall-painting and sculpture, see *i.a.* Leclant 1979, 62, fig. 52, a wall-painting from the Tomb of Nefertari, and p. 173, fig. 159, the bust of queen Nefertiti again. See also note 33.

66. Beside mandrake or persea fruits, we find cornflowers, dates, olive leaves, lotus petals, poppy petals, and willow leaves among the favoured, (Aldred 1971, 231). Wilson (1986, nos. 48–50) once again provides instructive drawings, in this case of some mould-made shapes.

67. The tomb of Pharaoh Tutankhamun provided finds of both categories; apart from eight bead-collars of the imitative floral type found in wooden boxes in the antechamber of the tomb, the young king's mummy was equipped with twelve additional collars, kept in place by various layers of bandaging. On top of the third and innermost coffin was the most spectacular one: an intact floral collar with the actual flowers beautifully preserved, interspersed by strings of blue glass beads. In the sixth row, we find eleven mandrake or persea fruits, sliced in half lengthwise and their chalices cut away; they were then sewn onto the collar. (Carter 1927, pl. XXXVI). Germer (1989, 11–12) reports how the initial identification made by Carter ("mandrake") was corrected by Boodle ("persea"). Since then, the fruits of this unique collar have unfortunately decomposed, rendering any further botanical analyses impossible.

68. Aldred 1971, 145, pls. 19–20 (Old Kingdom), pls. 7–8 (Middle Kingdom), and pl. 146, a rare example of a Late Period miniature collar of inlaid gold.

69. There is some continuation in Egyptian relief art, although sparse; divine beings and kings are rendered in certain ceremonial reliefs and wall-paintings dressed in outfits belonging to the New Kingdom period, including elaborate broad collars. See, for example, Bothmer 1960, pl. 33, fig. 77. The same is true for certain bronze statuettes.

70 See below for a discussion on the four-winged scarab as opposed to the Egyptian two-winged counterpart.

71. At the same time, it gives the lion an erroneous way of moving – compared to its relatives of flesh and blood – making it amble. Maybe it can be put down to just that, that is, a will to enliven the composition, when sometimes only certain animals in a group are depicted as being amble. See Fig. 12 in this article for a Greek example, and Barnett 1961, pls. 35 and 102, for one of several Assyrian.

72. The scarab – seen characteristically from above – is centrally placed on the belt. If the intervals between the creatures were respected on the part of the belt now missing, we could await two more creatures on the belt. We can either picture parading animals continuing their path on the other side of the winged beetle, or maybe two animals facing the centre of the belt. These could either be mirroring the preserved lion and goat, giving us goat-lion-scarab-lion-goat, or could of course be a set of totally different creatures, depending on the source of inspiration and/or the imagination of the Cypriote sculptor.

73. The two sections of the main body are the beetle's *elytrae*, or protective shields; thus a raised vertical line hardly corresponds to the appearance of that of an actual dung beetle (*Scarabaeus sacer* L.). The triangular area to which the front feet are attached is termed *pronotum*, see Ward 1994, 194.

74. The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. no. B.21, wears a long garment and a belt, under which concentric grooves are created. See Gjerstad, et al. 1935, pl. CCXII:4–5, nos. 1010 and 1030 for a terracotta figure wearing a similar dress. For short garments, see Gjerstad, et al. 1935, pls. CCI–CCIII and Karageorghis, et al. 1977, pl. XXXI:2, Ajia Irini nos. 1054, 1325, and 1049.

75. Figures wearing what has been termed "Cypriote belts" are not included here, since the shape of these belts differs so much from the "ordinary" belts carried by Cypriote figures. The girdle-like devices are sometimes adorned by rosettes, though, see, for example, Ergülec 1972, pl. XXIII (C 20) and Wilson 1974, 140.

76. We further know of a Herakles statuette from Idalion (the British Museum, Inv. no. 1872.8-16.44/1917.7-1.109, C 210) which has five incised circles on its belt. The statuette depicted in Fig. 9 is today in the Museo Barracco, Rome, Inv. no. 63, see Borda 1948, fig. 18. It has a belt with relief decoration: circles alternating with sets of parallel horizontal lines. Note that this belt has the same decoration as that of a Herakles-Melqart figure found in the *favissa* of the Ma'abed (temple) of Amrit, on the Phoenician coast, (the Tartus Museum, Inv. no. 809) – Dunand & Saliby 1985, pl. XL). Whether or not the Herakles-Melqart figure found in Amrit is of Cypriote manufacture has yet to be established, but see above note 30. The same goes for the colossal Egyptianizing figure from the same site, which is similarly wearing a belt decorated by circles (Dunand 1944–1948, pl. XVI:9 (the Tartus Museum, Inv. no. 1328).

77. Decorated belts are found on the following Cypriote Egyptianizing figures: Cesnola 1885, pls. V:7 (rosettes), VII:9 (a winged human (?) face), XXVII:80 and 90 (figural decorations, see below – and figs. 10 and 11), and XLII:279 (unidentified). For geometrical decorations on belts, see, for instance Cesnola 1885, pls. IX:11, XXX:201, XLIII:280 (Fig. 7 in this article).

In this case, we do not include figures whose belts have what looks like belt buckles, plastically rendered on the central part of the belt, see, for example, Karageorghis 1978, pl. XXIII:53; Buchholz 1993, Taf. LIV:1, and a well-preserved statuette in the British Museum, Inv. no. 1910.6-20.12, C19. Two Cypriote Egyptianizing limestone statuettes have painted geometrical belt decoration (the Pierides Collection, Larnaka, Inv. no. 863 and the British Museum, Inv. no. 1873.3-20.206, C 21, and there are bronze figurines with incised versions (the British Museum, Inv. nos 1872.8-16.89 and 1873.3-20.346).

78. Inv. nos 74.51.2676 and 74.51.2594, see above, (Cesnola 1885, pl. XXVII:90 and 80). I thank J.R. Mertens of the Metropolitan Museum who provided me with excellent photographs of the two fragments.

79. Both fragments display well-preserved traces of sashends (cobras and sash-ends?), much like NM Sk 1550 (see note 6). Note that already Cesnola ascribed Inv. no. 74.51.2676 as coming from a kilt-clad figure, while making no such statement regarding the second fragment; see text in connection to pl. XXVII:80. There is indeed an irregularity, in that the recessed area visible in this fragment, probably corresponding to the apron/*devanteau* of the figure, is seemingly not focused in the centre of the belt – if we are to judge by the floral motifs surrounding the main scene with man fighting lion.

80. On Cyprus, these raised outer edges are indeed characteristic of belts found only on Egyptianizing and Herakles-Melqart figures. For one possible explanation for the edges, see an article by J. Boardman where a Ionian metal belt with perforated borders is presented. It is proposed that a textile backing was sewn onto the belt, its ends rolled over the borders of the belt, creating two (comfortable) raised belt edges (Boardman 1961/62, 179-180).

81. The decoration of the centrally placed

apron evidenced by the fragment – a chevron pattern – is not equalled in the Cypriote Egyptianizing sculptural material known to us. This ribbed chevron design is found repeatedly, though, in Phoenician ivories carved two centuries earlier, alongside other Egyptianizing motifs; it there seems to represent standardized papyrus leaves. See, *i.a.*, Barnett 1957, pl. IX:D9; Herrmann 1986, pls. 202:781, 306:1165 and 325:1254.

82. The third fragmentary creature is much defaced, but there is clearly a plain wing rising from its back. Cf. Myres 1914, 235-236, no. 1370.

83. Inv. no. 74.51.2594.

84. Shefton 1989, 97-98. Shefton argues that the conventionally used term "papyrus flower" is incorrect, and introduces the name "paradise flower" for the ornament, which is suggested to be an amalgamation of a lily flower and a papyrus sedge. Cesnola erroneously identified the preserved papyrus/paradise flower ornament as a tree, and the fragmentary counterpart as a bow and arrow belonging to the hero fighting a lion, see the text in connection to pl. XXVII:90. Myres similarly saw a bow and arrow belonging to an attacker coming from behind the lion (Myres 1914, 236, no. 1371).

85. For general examples, see Shefton 1989, figs. 6-10. See Cesnola 1885, pl. V:7 (collar) and pl. XLII:279 (squat crown or helmet). For the last piece, a much better picture is provided in Karageorghis et al. 2000, 112, no. 176. A well-preserved limestone head from Idalion, now in the British Museum, has part of a broad collar preserved, its two preserved bands of decoration occupied by lilies and buds, and so-called paradise flowers (the British Museum, Inv. no. 1873.3-20.4 (1917.7-1.174), C 15). The Egyptianizing statue found in Sidon, referred to above, not only has "paradise flower" ornaments alternating with lilies in one of the four bands of its well-preserved collar, but uniquely displays a similar frieze in relief placed

horizontally just above the belt, where the short-sleeved garment covering the upper part of the body meets the belt (Doumet Serhal 1998, 30, fig. 3).

86. For a short treatment of this traditional Oriental motif on Cyprus, see Markoe 1988. See also Ciafaloni 1992, 47-65, and Cecchini 1996.

87. For a related scene, where the position of the arms have been rendered in a similar – although slightly different – way, see the relief decoration on the kilt of a Geryon figure, also found at Golgoi (the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. no. 74.51.2591; Karageorghis et al. 2000, 128-129, no. 193).

88. Cesnola identified the scene as depicting Herakles fighting the Nemean lion, see – again – the text in connection to pl. XXVII:90. See also Myres 1914, 236, no. 1371.

89. There is, however, a parallel to a creature found on one of the shields of the Geryon figure, mentioned above. The awkward position of the legs of the lion on the New York belt is mirrored in the depiction of a centaur (?) on the Geryon shield (Karageorghis et al. 2000, 129, "193. Detail"). There are, indeed, general stylistic affinities between the two belt scenes and the decoration of the Geryon figure – all three found at Golgoi (Ayios Photios).

90. I am very grateful to C. Neeft of the University of Amsterdam, who generously helped in analyzing the animal frieze from the point of view of Corinthian vase-painting. Dr. Neeft would place the lion on NM Sk 1550 within the Late Proto-corinthian tradition, ca. 640-630 B.C.

91. Payne 1931, 272, pl. 10:5-6 (the British Museum, Inv. no. A 1009). The *olpe* lacks a reported provenance. Payne noted the uniqueness of the frieze which contains nine animals of eight different types.

92. C. Neeft, personal communication, 1998.

93. The he-goat of the *olpe* also seems to be moving at a good pace, if we are to judge by the position of its legs. Note, however, that the BM goat has its left front and right hind hoof meeting, indeed indicating that it is amble – as is the lion in the same frieze. In that respect, the goat's walk is not identical to its Cypriote counterpart, which is rendered as if moving in a correct manner. We saw above that the lion of NM Sk 1550 has an erroneous way of walking, as well (note 71).

94. Unlike its Assyrian counterpart, the Hittite-type lion is characterized by its square head, the short distance of the curve between the point where the mane emanates and the tip of the muzzle, and the long straight distance from tip of muzzle to chin, (Payne 1931, 67–68).

95. Gjerstad et al. 1977.

96. Materials like textile and wood should not be overlooked.

97. See, for example, Gjerstad et al. 1977, 34; Amyx 1988, 364; Boardman 1991, 11–12, fig. 15.

98. A similar delicate, low relief is found in a Persian limestone carving, connected to the manufacture of metal relief plaques, see Frankfort 1950, pl. III. If we choose to continue this thought, we can picture a metal belt with decoration rendered in the *repoussé* technique, alternatively a leather belt with attached, thin metal figures.

99. See Browne 1981, figs. 8.1 and 8.2, for a fragmentary bronze belt from Kourion on Cyprus, bearing indeed a figural decoration rendered in the *repoussé* technique (lions attacking a winged (?) griffin). Stylistically, the lions of the Kourion belt are far from the creature depicted on the belt of NM Sk 1550, however. Further, several decorated Achaemenid metal belts have been found, see for example, Moorey 1967, pls. 1:a–d, and Dussaud 1949, figs. 10 and 12, as well as Boardman 1961/62 (Ionian belts). Note that a *repoussé* gold belt from Aliseda displays bands of decoration along its outer edges – where one of the motives

repeated is that of a man fighting a lion. See Moscati 1968, fig. 95.

100. See, for an excellent analysis, Hermary 1986. Hermary dates the bowl to ca. 660–650 B.C. (p. 193). Markoe places it earlier, between 710–675 B.C. (Markoe 1985, 155–156).

101. For this motif on metal bowls in general, see Welten 1970, 286 (note 42). We encounter the venerated four-winged scarab in Phoenician glyptic art as well. It must be put down to chance, however, when we find it – indeed – in connection to a register containing goat and lion? See Gubel 1993, 116–118, figs. 34–36 (limestone scaraboids of the 8th century B.C.).

102. Apart from highly stylized two-winged scarabs depicted on the rear sides of small-scale (imported?) scarab seals found in Kition, the “royal tombs” at Salamis have yielded a pair of schematic four-winged scarabs rendered in metal relief, adorning a chariot. See Clerc et al. 1976, 49 (Kit. 482–483), 105 (Kit. 1918), and 111 (Kit. 3365); Karageorghis 1974, pls. CXXI and CCLXXIII. Further, a cubical stamp – said to have been found on Cyprus – displays sharp-contoured, Egyptian-style motifs. One of them is a four-winged scarab with solar discs between each pair of feet (Gubel 1987, fig. 13:3).

103. Leclant 1979, figs. 251 and 229. In Egyptian art, the two-winged scarab (Khepre) is the emblem of the rising of the reborn sun, a symbol of resurrection, so central in Egyptian religion (Assmann 1975, 935). See Ward 1994, 186–188, on the origin of and reason for the veneration of the scarab beetle.

104. Hermary 1986, 188. Ward places the origin of the motif in Syria, where it would have been created under the influence of Hurrian art (Ward 1994, 192).

105. One of the beautiful Cypro-Phoenician silver bowls found in the Bernardini tomb in Praeneste displays a pair of four-winged falcon-headed scarabs being

worshiped by crouching Harpocrates figures on reed boats: (Markoe 1985, 274–277 (E1)). Markoe dates the vessel to the same period as the Amathus bowl, ca. 710–675 B.C., p. 155–156. Engraved metal objects from the Western Mediterranean also display four-winged scarabs, (Hölbl 1979, 315; Hölbl 1986, I: 341; II: 3, Taf. 158. See Herrmann 1986, pls. 49:230 and 55:255, for examples among the so-called Nimrud ivories. These are four-winged scarabs with feathered wings, occasionally rendered with a falcon's head. There is even one ivory fragment which seems to depict a winged scarab as part of the decoration of a belt – or indeed maybe a broad collar. See Herrmann 1986, pl. 87:381.

106. See Markoe 1985, Cy1, Cy2, Cy8, E3, and E12 for man fighting lion (pp. 242, 244, 256, 286, and 307). The male figure repeatedly depicted in Cy2, a gold-plated silver bowl found at Idalion, indeed wears an animal skin. Crouching winged sphinxes are found in Cy4 (the “Amathus bowl”) while Cy2 provides walking, not crouching, sphinxes. See E3 for plant ornaments separating scenes in general, and Cy1 – another bowl found at Idalion – for “paradise flowers” in particular.

107. Markoe 1985, Cy2; but see for a better picture Jourdain-Annequin 1993, pl. XI. The lions' massive necks and slender bodies, and the marked shoulder lines and the curve and tip of the tails, are all closely parallel. For lions on Phoenician metal bowls, see Llewellyn Brown 1960, 29 (note 2). Note, however, that the bearded sphinxes with conical head-dresses rendered in limestone (fig. 10) differ distinctly from the two-winged counterparts engraved on the metal bowls.

108. We saw above how C. Neeft placed the goat and lion around 640–630 B.C., on stylistic grounds, and A. Hermary similarly dates the “Amathus bowl” to ca. 660–650 B.C. (see above notes 90 and 100).

109. We should keep in mind the obvious problems that arise when confronting

such separate artistic traditions as stone- and metal work.

110. The "royal tombs" at Salamis provide early examples of these preferences, see above notes 16 and 101.

111. All dress features, including the sashends, and all ornaments – like the mandrake or persea fruit, the hanging triangles interspersed by horizontal lines, and the outer row of drops of the collars, alongside the cobras of the kilts – are faithfully repeated throughout. See above, note 49.

112. See note 55 for a description of one of many examples. For an evaluation of these misunderstandings, and a short discussion of their implications, see Faegersten (forthcoming).

113. Both the four-winged scarab and the "paradise flower" are transfigurations of common Egyptian motifs. More tangible indications against seeing a direct Egyptian influence in these figures, like the absence of the Egyptian back-pillar support, deserve to be brought up again. See note 15.

114. The sanctuary at Amrit is the richest single site where Cypriote-style sculpture have been found outside the island. The votive figures include, among other types, male figures draped in mantles, figures of Herakles-Melqart, and figures clad in Egyptian(izing) dress. A high percentage of them carry votive gifts or animals. The Eshmun sanctuary outside Sidon has provided finds of several Cypriote-style figures in Egyptian dress. See above notes 29 and 30.

115. See note 30.

116. We have not had the chance here to discuss the term any further – or rather the processes behind it – but acknowledge that this has to be done in any study of these figures that wishes to be more profound. The term chosen for this group of figures ought to mirror the way we view them in relation to material on Cyprus, in Egypt, and in Phoenicia.

117. Markoe 1990, 113–116, see note 33.

118. Such an enlivened body modelling is argued by Senff to have been introduced just before the middle of the 6th century B.C., see note 44.

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THREE CYPRIOTE HEADS OF PAN IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MEDELHAVSMUSEET IN STOCKHOLM

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Of the three Cypriote limestone heads presented in this article in the holdings of the Medelhavsmuseet (Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities) in Stockholm, two, MM 1982:8 (Figs. 1–4), and Acc. 1162 (Figs. 5–8), are previously unpublished. A third, Acc. 904 (Figs. 9–12), was mentioned briefly by Olof Vessberg and Alfred Westholm in a volume of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*,¹ but will be discussed here in more detail with reference to the identity of the two heads.

The head MM 1982:8, formerly in the private collection of Ms. Berit Wallenberg, came to the Medelhavsmuseet in 1982.² At the time of its acquisition, a brief note in the accession catalogue described the head as representing a female and dated it to 400 B.C.

The head Acc. 1162 was found in the storerooms of the Cypriote collection, in a small box carrying a label with the name of Soli, a site excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition between 1930 and 1931.³ Its provenance is uncertain, as the label 'Soli' was followed by a question mark and it is impossible to learn either when, or by whom

the note was written. There are no other records referring to it.⁴

The head Acc. 904 has been in the collection of the Medelhavsmuseet since 1951. According to the museum's card index the head was purchased through the agency of Michael Androniku from G. Petrakides, the owner of an antiques shop in Nicosia. Apart from the information regarding its acquisition, nothing of the provenance can be ascertained.⁵

Description of the head MM 1982:8 (Figs. 1–4)

Carved in a cream-coloured, soft limestone with traces of red paint, the head has a frontal orientation. Its measurements are as follows: its preserved height is 14.5 cm, the length of the face, from the hairline to the chin, is 7.0 cm; the width of the face is 5.4 cm, the width between the ears is 8.2 cm. The head is preserved from the crown to the base of the neck. The lower edge of the hairline to the left is broken off. Numerous minor chips are visible on the forehead, especially above the left eyebrow, cheeks, the chin and the neck. The tips of the ears are also missing. There is a deep hole in the inner

corner of the right eye. The nose has been partially abraded, resulting in a missing left nostril. The face has an oval shape, finishing in a protruding chin. The hair is parted at the centre, with loose waves falling to the sides and behind the ears in thick, crudely cut grooves, which follow the lines of this strongly rounded head. It is combed down on to the nape, at which point it falls towards the sides as shoulder locks. A small 'v'-shaped rise is perceivable on top of the skull. Sharp, pointed and prominently set ears project on either side of the face. Traces of red paint are visible on the ears, where they are especially well preserved, at the back of the head and on the remaining edge of the garment.

The forehead is low and broad, sloping gently in line with the slender nose. The eyes are deep and irregularly shaped with contoured eyelids. The smaller, left eye is carved higher and slightly askew, while the larger, almond-shaped right eye, the inner corner of which has been badly damaged, is more horizontally and deeply set into the socket. The arched lines of the eyebrows follow the contours of the eyes, emphasising their asymmetry. The large mouth is slightly opened outlining the flesh-





Figs. 1-4. MM 1982:8



ness of the lips. A deep, rounded line of carving, particularly visible in the profile view, accentuates the starting point of the throat. The entire outline of the face gives an asymmetrical impression. To the right, the thick and fairly long neck ends in the lining of a garment.

Apart from the forehead arrangement, the coiffure is treated in a perfunctory manner, worked with schematic, deep cuts made by a coarse tool. At the back, the remaining part of the stone below the nape is flattened. The sculptural treatment of MM 1982:8, with the front carefully sculptured and the back only cursorily worked, conveys the impression that the head was to be viewed from the front.

The face of MM 1982:8 depicts androgynous features, and it is difficult by looking at it to discern whether it represents a female or male. Far more conspicuous, however, are the small horns and the sharp-pointed animal ears, two elements of a beast incorporated into this human face.

Description of the head Acc. 1162 (Figs. 5–8)

The preserved height of the head is 6.5 cm. The length from the crown of the head to the chin is 5.0 cm and the width between the ears is 4.7 cm. The frontally orientated head is broken off below the neck and has been restored from several pieces. The lines of fracture run both horizontally and vertically. The vertical line splits the left ear in two, continuing along the head. The horizontal line of the break is far more visible, running underneath the chin and cutting through the long hair. The lower part of the

coiffure to the right, when viewed from the front, and at the back is chipped.

The facial features are reduced to two depressions for the eyes and a vertical protrusion for the nose. The mouth is not outlined. Large, sharp-pointed ears project on either side of the face. The pair of small horns set tightly together, adorns the crown of the head. The outline of the hair is marked by schematic, crudely incised grooves. These are combed forwards into a short fringe and a long fall at the back of the head. The neglected plastic rendering of the hair at the back, together with the flattened surface of the stone, prevents the estimation of the length of the coiffure.

The surface of the head is covered with a copper-red colour. At a first glance it is impossible to determine whether these are actually traces of the original red paint or a discolouring due to burial in iron-rich soil. The latter seems, however, to be the case since even those worn and abraded surfaces, i.e. the fractured neck, have been coloured.⁶ Although much more summarily executed, the Soli head, Acc. 1162, with the pointed ears and horns framing a human face, suggests the depiction of a creature similar to MM 1982:8.

Description of the head Acc. 904 (Fig. 9–12)

The head is sculptured in sandcoloured, hard limestone. Its preserved height, from the crown of the head to the base of the neck, is 17.5 cm. The width between the ears is 10.3 cm. The length of the face, from the forehead to tip of the chin, is 8.8 cm and the width of the face is 7.3 cm.

The head has been broken at the neck, but is on the whole in a good state of preservation. The face has suffered minor damage, visible on the left eyebrow, left cheek and chin. The tip of the left ear and nose are abraded. The face is oval-shaped, finishing in a projecting chin.

The hair is long and thick, indicated by grooves. It is combed forwards in waves on to the forehead, adding up to a fringe. At the back, the hair is only roughly worked in narrow, schematic cuts, which follow smoothly the shape of the head to the height of the ears, at which point the coiffure parts to the sides. A pair of long, pointed ears protrude from the hair. Two horns, not entirely freed from the stone and joining towards the base, crown the top of the skull. The forehead is low and broad, with a horizontal furrow in the midst, and it slopes gently towards the broad nose. The almond-shaped eyes are deeply set in the sockets with the upper eyelids strongly marked. The eyeballs are flattened, contributing to the hollow, expressionless look. The pupils are not indicated. The eyebrows follow regularly the contours of the eyes. The mouth, with its thin lips, is slightly opened. There is an indication of a double chin and the throat muscles are clearly accentuated. In contrast to the elaborate working of the face and the front of the coiffure, the back is coarsely worked. Given the crude quality of the back, it cannot have been intended to be seen.



*Figs. 5-8.
Acc. 1162*



*Fig. 9-12.
Acc. 904*



Identification

Olof Vessberg and Alfred Westholm mentioned Acc. 904 in their publication devoted to Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus, more specifically in their discussion of Hellenistic sculpture. The authors identified the head as that of Pan and suggested a date in the Hellenistic period.⁷ In their discussion of the Cypriote iconography of Pan, Vessberg and Westholm referred to sculptures of Pan from the Cesnola Collection,⁸ which, in their eyes, were far more summarily executed than Acc. 904. They accurately stressed the gentle, almost feminine look of the Stockholm head. This feminine, or perhaps androgynous expression of Acc. 904 may explain why the sculpture, on its arrival at the museum, was identified as representing a female,⁹ a fate similarly shared later by MM 1982:8.¹⁰

Despite the differently rendered details of the coiffure and the facial features, the three heads in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm represent without doubt the same being. This hybrid figure, with its prominently set sharp-pointed ears and horns, combines features of both human and beast portrayed in stone.

As representations of humans can be eliminated when searching for the identity of the head, one should instead turn to gods or more abstract entities. One's attention is immediately drawn to the pointed animal ears. They provide a clue to a number of possible interpretations, with silens and satyrs as perhaps the first that spring to mind. Silens, half horses half men, are well known from representations on Attic vase-paintings. They often have their equine characteristics in art limited to the portrayal of long

ears and the tail of a horse.¹¹ Occasionally they may be depicted with animal fur, but neither in stone nor on vases with horns. Thus, the clearly perceivable horns on all three heads in Stockholm rule them out as representing silens.

Satyrs are hybrids too. Rendered human with a long beard, they carry a tail and horses' ears. Almost always grotesquely ithyphallic, they may occasionally be depicted with hooves or a hairy body. Despite their mixed anatomy, the iconographical standard for representing satyrs is not rigidly fixed, allowing for variations in emphasis between either more human or animal natures.¹² They may even appear dressed. Although satyrs are difficult to distinguish from silens,¹³ they are also never depicted with horns. Nor is the identification of these heads as representations of river-gods justified.¹⁴ Coincidentally, the river-gods were frequently depicted with animal ears and horns. Particularly during the fifth century B.C. they were sometimes represented as man-headed bulls or bearded humans with bull's ears and horns. In later periods, when depicted as clean-shaved youths, they continued to wear the horns or ears of a bull.¹⁵ Not only do they mainly appear in other geographical regions, in Sicily and southern Italy, than the heads under discussion, but they are most often worked in other medium than stone, appearing mainly on coins. Depictions in stone exist in the form of relief and of marble votive masks.¹⁶

An interesting example may be seen in a relief, housed today in the Archaeological Museum of Andros, where a frontally depicted river god identified as Acheloos, and Pan, are

represented together.¹⁷ There, the difference in the rendering of the ears is apparent. The river-god's ears are not sharp-pointed, but have a rather triangular form. Nor do the horns crown the head, but project instead outwards from the side in a half-moon-shape. Despite being much worn, the horns of Pan visible on the relief bend in the opposite direction. They start off tightly together and pointing outwards, similar in depiction to the horns on two of the Stockholm heads, MM 1982:8 and Acc. 904. The horns of the third Stockholm head, Acc. 1162, are far more schematically rendered. The Andros relief should be seen as a rare and instructive example, where Pan and the river-god are frontally sculpted. Here the difference in the manner of representing the horns is explicitly visualised with the bull-horns of the river-god set apart from each other and projecting outwards, while Pan's goat ears are long, pointed, and set tightly together.

I would suggest that the two heads, MM 1982:8 and Acc. 1162, represent Pan. The third limestone head, Acc. 904, has already been identified as such by Vessberg and Westholm in 1956.

Stylistic parallels

A limestone head housed today in the Museo di Antichità di Torino, Inv. no. 4983 (Fig. 13),¹⁸ offers a good starting point for a discussion regarding the identity and style, as it comes from the same locality, namely Cyprus. It has a human face, framed by a pair of sharp-pointed, unmistakably animal ears and horns, not completely freed from the stone, on



Fig. 13. Museo di Antichità di Torino, Inv. no. 4983. Courtesy of Archivio della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte-Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

the top of the head. The Turin head, which has been identified as a youthful Pan, shows the same mixture of animal and human elements that are visible in the three heads in Stockholm.¹⁹ The Turin head particularly resembles MM 1982:8 in its

treatment of the hair. Although the Stockholm head MM 1982:8 has wavier hair, in amongst which the less pronounced horns seem almost to disappear, the hair on both heads parts in the centre. With long strands combed to the sides it falls behind the

ears. Determined to a high degree by their coiffure, the faces exhibit a similarly triangular shape.

Lo Porto dated the Turin head to between 200 to 150 B.C.,²⁰ noting stylistic parallels with limestone sculptures classified as style VII by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.²¹ This particular group, although represented by few specimens from Mersinaki and with parallels from Soli, is distinguishable by their overemphasised details, that is, their fat faces with full cheeks and chins. Particularly conspicuous are the crudely cut, deep-set eyes with bulging eyeballs. The facial features of the Turin Pan bear an unequivocal resemblance to the Mersinaki heads of style VII. Although MM 1982:8 does not have the conspicuously protruding eyes of the Turin head, and in their absence the resemblance to the Mersinaki sculptures of style VII is not directly underlined, the main stylistic likeness with the Turin head resides, nonetheless, in the rendering of the centre-parted coiffure, the shape of the face and the fleshy, half-open, lips.

A limestone head from Larnaca, Inv. no. 1934/IV-27/31 (Fig. 14-15), today in the collection of the Cyprus Museum at Nicosia,²² closely resembles the Turin head and to some extent also the sculptures of the Mersinaki style VII. It also offers a further parallel to MM 1982:8. The Larnaca head too has a centre-parted coiffure, falling in light waves to either side and behind the ears, framing the face in a triangular manner. Fleshy cheeks, large eyes and a broad nose, but most notably long, pointed animal ears and horns set on top of the head are further character-

ristics shared by both heads. It was also identified as Pan and has been dated to the Hellenistic period.

Acc. 904 is not a unique sculptural representation of Pan, however, this particular head stands out from the many other Cypriote depictions of the divinity. Its coiffure slightly resembles that of the Pan statuette found in the sanctuary of Pyla, MNB 360, today in the Louvre,²³ although the Stockholm head is less carefully rendered and appears more weathered. However, Acc. 904 is more carefully worked than many Pan heads, something that will be more explicitly discussed below. There are several other examples of detailed renderings of Pan, but none of them depicts the face with its feminine features in the same manner.²⁴ More common are the crudely cut representations of Pan, whose facial features are given minimum of detail. The Soli head, Acc. 1162, is a good example of this particular style. Today much dispersed throughout the world, the Cesnola Collection²⁵ offers several parallels that according to the excavator, Luigi Palma di Cesnola, stem from Golgoi.²⁶ Of them perhaps nos. 857, 858, 859, 865, 866 and 867²⁷ deserve to be mentioned. In part the plastic renderings of their faces are comparable to the Soli head and they not only provide stylistic parallels, but at the same time give an idea of what whole figures of Pan look like.

The Cyprus Museum collection in Nicosia offers further parallels. Together with some examples from private collections, published by Pavlos Flourentzos in a study devoted to the iconography of the Cypriote Pan, these were dated to the Hellenistic period on iconographic grounds.²⁸



*Fig. 14-15.
Cyprus Museum,
Nicosia, Inv. no.
1934/IV-27/31.
Courtesy of the
Cyprus Museum.*

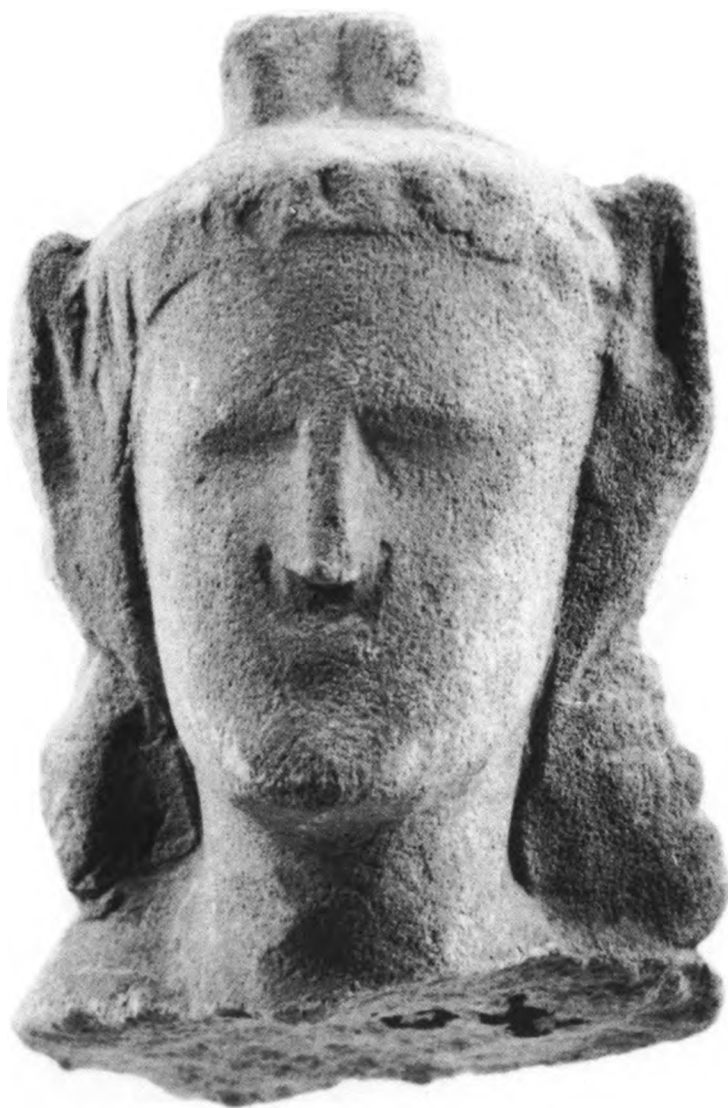


Fig. 16. Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Inv. no. 1933/X-21/3. Courtesy of the Cyprus Museum.

In particular group III, which the author classified as youthful, ithyphallic figures of Pan holding a *syrix*, a shepherd's pipe, resemble the Soli head. Unfortunately, they all are of unknown provenance. In this assemblage there are three limestone statuettes (nos. E. 45, E. 60 and E. 66;

pl. XXV), whose heads are similar to the Soli head in having a less pronounced plasticity.²⁹ It is difficult to establish the geographical distribution of this style. Nevertheless, it appears to have been quite widely spread. Among the material examined by Florentzos, only one head offering

parallels to the Soli head has a documented provenance. It is Inv. no. 1933/X-21/3 (Fig. 16), 7 cm high, from Potamia.³⁰ As in the examples mentioned earlier, the face is schematically rendered with the physiognomic details reduced to two cavities for the eyes and a horizontal protrusion for the nose. The Potamia head has horns, placed more centrally on top of the head, as well as a pair of slightly larger and more protruding ears than the Soli head, but the stylistic resemblance is indisputable.

Potamia has yielded further examples, reminding one of the Soli head's simple rendering of the face. In a publication by Vassos Karageorghis, five heads and a number of torsos were identified as representing Opaon Melanthios, though they are actually depictions of Pan.³¹ These disjointed statuettes, mainly heads, come from the excavations carried out in 1933 by Porphyrios Dikaio of a sanctuary, which produced statuary ranging in date from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.³²

The heads from Potamia (nos. 2, 4, 12, 42, 83; pl. XLIV)³³ are of the same, plastically less pronounced, type as the Stockholm head, Acc. 1162. In their limited demarcation of facial features, consisting of depressions for the eyes, a vertical protrusion to mark the nose, and the crude outline of the coiffure with radiating incisions marking the forehead, two of these Potamia heads, no. 12, and no. 42, show a particularly close resemblance.³⁴

The Musée d'Archéologie in Château Borély at Marseille owns a limestone statuette, 34 cm high (Fig. 17), close in style to the Soli head, also identified as Pan.³⁵ It exhibits the

same perfunctory treatment of limestone seen not only among Pan statuettes but also among many limestone votives, interpreted as representing ordinary votaries. They too are of the plain, schematic, type described above. The contours of the mouth are rarely outlined³⁶ and the details of the hair are reduced to radiating incisions to form a fringe.

Golgoi, one of the most important sanctuaries of Cyprus, situated in the limestone-rich Mesaoria plain, has produced a large corpus of material from different periods and styles.³⁷ Among its rich deposits of votives, many of which are housed today in the Louvre, there are several limestone male heads that exhibit the same simple plasticity in the rendering of faces. Perhaps stylistically closest are AM 3271, AM 3268, AM 3187, AM 3272, AM 3432, AM 3402, AM 3405, AM 3406, all dated to the third century B.C.³⁸ Another Sanctuary in the Mesaoria plain, that of Aphrodite/Astarte in Idalion,³⁹ excavated by Max Hermann Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1887, has yielded several close parallels to the Acc. 1162. The finds, housed today in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe, were published by Wolfgang Schürmann. Especially no. 202, classified by Schürmann as belonging to group VII, together with several heads from group VIII, dated to the Hellenistic period, offer good examples of this schematic, simple style, perhaps most adequately labelled as 'crude'.⁴⁰

Sites further away from the central and eastern parts of the island are also worth looking at. The site of Ayia Irini, a Late Cypriote III sanctuary with continuity into the Cypro-



Fig. 17. Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, Marseille, Inv. no. 2476 (Froehner 976). From W. Froehner, Les antiquités Chypriotes dans les Collections publiques françaises, Paris 1897, cat.no. 67.



Fig. 18. Swedish Cyprus Expedition, no. 2274.

Archaic II period, excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, has yielded only sporadic offerings of a later date that are interpreted as bearing witness to a poor later revival of the cult.⁴¹ Amongst these, two third-century B.C. heads resemble the head Acc. 1162. There is a male head, no. 2197, whose features are much worn, but allowing to discern the stylistic likeness in the schematic rendering of the face, and a female head, no. 2274 (Fig. 18), that has an elongated face with depressions for the eyes, a straight line for the nose and crude incisions marking the fringed coiffure.⁴²

Another third-century B.C. head, no. 57 in the collection of the Abbey Museum in Australia and of unknown provenance, exhibits the same simple treatment of the face as the Soli head.⁴³

It would almost be impossible to list all heads or statuettes resembling the Soli head as this style reappears frequently. One may briefly mention two, cat. nos. 25 and 26, in the Royal Museum of Art and History in Brussels that, although female, are of the same crude style,⁴⁴ a male head in the Brock University Collection, cat. no. 146,⁴⁵ and four female heads cat. nos. 81–84, in the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen.⁴⁶ One of these was found in the surroundings of Ioppe, while the remaining three were come from Kition.

In conclusion, when considering stylistic comparisons, one should stress that in particular the Soli head, Acc. 1162, has several close parallels. These are found amongst both heads and statuettes of Pan as well as other limestone votives. These examples originate not only in the central part

of the island, well known for its dense concentration of sanctuaries, but also from coastal sites such as Ayia Irini. Isolated votive objects, like those found at Ayia Irini, do not necessarily bear witness to the local origin of this particular style. The rarity of votives of this style may well imply that these were not locally produced objects, but were brought by worshippers over a long distance.

Finds of either whole or fragmentary Pan statuettes of known provenance indicate that Golgoi,⁴⁷ Lefkoni-ko,⁴⁸ Pyla,⁴⁹ Idalion,⁵⁰ Potamia,⁵¹ Larnaca⁵² and most recently Athienou-Malloura⁵³ were once important places of Cypriote Pan worship. Single finds of Pan statuettes have also been made at Pano Lakatomia-Drosinaspilios⁵⁴ and Templos.⁵⁵ Furthermore, a single figure of Pan was discovered in the *temenos* of Apollo at Voni by Ohnefalsch-Richter, who at the time identified the figurine as that of Heracles.⁵⁶ A Pan statuette from Tamassos was similarly inaccurately ascribed.⁵⁷ Many of these sites are situated in the fertile and limestone-rich plain of Mesaoria in central Cyprus where rich sanctuaries, especially of Aphrodite and Apollo, were erected.⁵⁸ Interestingly, contrary to what was customary at his place of origin, Pan in Cyprus was worshipped in sanctuaries and not in caves, considered to be liminal area, where the god could be more easily brought under control.⁵⁹

Dating

The examples presented above show clearly that there are numerous parallels to the Pan heads in the holdings of the Medelhavsmuseet in

Stockholm. When dated, heads of Pan and of ordinary votaries that offer stylistic parallels are placed in the Hellenistic era. The dating of the Pan statuette in the Musée d'Archéologie, in Château Borély in Marseille, deserves, however, to be commented upon, since it has been ascribed to the Cypro-Classical I period, corresponding to 475–400 B.C.⁶⁰ This date was based on a comparison with a particular statuette from the Louvre, AM 1165, (Fig. 19) purportedly from the end of the fifth century B.C.⁶¹ In the current catalogue of Cypriote antiquities at the Louvre, Antoine Hermay has suggested a Hellenistic date for AM 1165 as well as several other Cypriote limestone statuettes and heads of Pan in the collection.⁶² This changing of the date of the statuette is crucial, as it has a direct bearing on the date of the Pan statuette in the Marseille collection. One can argue that this also should be dated to the Hellenistic, rather than Classical period.

Most Pan statuettes were unearthed in the early period of Cypriote archaeology, between the second half of the nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth century. Their dating is, thus, based on stylistic comparisons rather than on archaeological dating methods. Nevertheless, the most recent finds of Pan statuettes from excavations carried out at the sanctuary of Athienou-Malloura⁶³ in the vicinity of Golgoi, have provided stratigraphically datable archaeological contexts. The sanctuary has been identified as originally a place of worship of Baal-Hammon and Herakles-Melquart. After a re-organization of the sanctuary in the fourth century B.C. it was associated with

Pan.⁶⁴ A large portion of Athienou-Malloura limestone votives, from the Archaic-Classical phase of the sanctuary, has been studied by Derek Brittain Counts, who also mentions later excavation-levels dating to the Hellenistic period that contained about a dozen, headless Pan statuettes.⁶⁵ In addition, a random find of a small head made in 1998, AAP-AM 1646, has been interpreted as possibly belonging to Pan.⁶⁶

I would support the possible identification of the Athienou-Malloura head as Pan. The head itself is in a bad state of preservation, with the entire right side of the face abraded. However, a small, indistinct rise on the top of the head possibly depicts a pair of horns, and a pointed left ear that melts in with the simple, schematic, coiffure has been preserved. The head appears to me to suggest a head of Pan similar to the Soli head, Acc. 1162, and the several parallels discussed previously in connection with it. This points further towards the common appearance of this schematic and crude style of Hellenistic statuary.

When dating the heads in the collection of the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm, stylistic as well as archaeological evidence indicates a Hellenistic provenance. When a more specific date is offered, it is usually the third century B.C. and there are historical arguments in favour of such a date that ought to be taken into account.

Pan in a Cypriote context

Previous to the presence and popularity of his worship during the Hellenistic age, Pan was a divinity that may have been largely unknown in



Fig. 19. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. no. AM 1165. Courtesy of the Louvre.

Cyprus. After being temporarily in the hands of the Macedonian rulers (306–294 B.C.) the island was ruled for two and a half centuries by the Ptolemies, until the Roman annexation of 58 B.C.⁶⁷ Having been bereft of its old institution of independent city kingdoms, Cyprus was governed by high officials resident in Paphos, which was easily accessible from Alexandria. Although many Greek gods had been introduced to the island during earlier periods of Hellenisation, with Ptolemaic rule established in Cyprus followed a particularly strong influx of Greek ideas.⁶⁸ At this time, a number of Greek divinities that were previously unknown in Cyprus were introduced. Pan was merely one of them. The finds from many of the island's sanctuaries not only testify to their popularity, but also to a phenomenon that occurred frequently during earlier times in Cyprus, namely Syncretism, the assimilation of foreign gods with indigenous divinities.⁶⁹

It has been claimed that Pan in the Hellenistic age acquired new qualities, having abandoned his rural domains for military spheres.⁷⁰ However, although it was the Ptolemies who expelled the Antigonids from Cyprus, who maintained a particularly close relationship to Pan,⁷¹ and it was the same Ptolemies who had built a Paneion in the heart of their own city, Alexandria,⁷² one cannot, no matter how tempting it is, explain Pan's appearance in Cyprus as more than the Ptolemies' wish to prompt cults of Greek gods. With one possible exception in Cyprus,⁷³ neither do we encounter Pan in a military character, nor as a god whose cult the monarchs wished to



Fig. 20. British Museum, London, Irv. no. C231. Courtesy of the British Museum

promote, either by identifying themselves with him and with his military qualities,⁷⁴ or by demonstrating that he favoured them.

The iconography of the Cypriote Pan

Pan, a rustic divinity, differing much in character from the rest of the Greek pantheon, underwent a great deal of transformation in his iconography.⁷⁵ Sculptures representing Pan, ranging from the Hellenistic to the Imperial period, with an emphasis on continuity of certain motifs and types and discontinuity of others, have been the subject of a recent study.⁷⁶ Even if the Cypriote representations of Pan fall outside the scope of her work, Marquardt has demonstrated that during the Hellenistic period the predominant manner of representing Pan was to portray him as goat-legged, as can be seen in much of the relief work of this period.⁷⁷

In the Hellenistic art of Cyprus we encounter Pan depicted as almost human in shape.⁷⁸ He is rendered as a male figure with human legs, standing erect. Occasionally a slight tendency towards movement may be discerned in his posture, when one of his legs is bent and placed slightly forward or to one side. His only attire is a *himation*, a long shepherd's cloak, draped over his shoulders and tightened in the front with a knot.⁷⁹ In one hand Pan carries a *syrinx*, a shepherd's pipe, that he holds next to his chest as a reminder of his unrequited love for the eponymous nymph.⁸⁰ The other arm hangs either alongside the body or the hand is placed on the hip and sometimes he is sculptured as ithyp-

hallic. Cypriote Pan is easily recognised, due to the repetition of the same elements: the frontal position of the partly-naked body hidden beneath a cloak, a human face framed by animal ears, the horns of a goat, and the use of the same attribute, the *syrix*.⁸¹

Occasionally, though rarely, Cypriote Pan is holding not only a *syrix*, but also *lagobolon*, a device for catching hares, as may be seen in the Pan Statuette, C 231, (Fig. 20), in the British Museum.

The standing Pan is by far the most common representation of the god in Cyprus. An exception is a seated and goat-legged statuette that was found at Golgoi during the 1969 excavations carried out by the University of Thessaloniki.⁸² Although the excavator, Giorgios Bakalakis went on to identify the find as representing Opaon Melanthios,⁸³ it appears in fact to be an unusual Cypriote depiction of Pan.⁸⁴ Although headless, the god may be identified by his goat-legs in a form more usually encountered elsewhere. A further deviation from the standard Cypriote iconography is the use of an entirely different attribute than *syrix*, namely a shield that he holds in his left hand, whilst his right hand rests upon a wild animal. Also worth noting is the profane context of this find, dated to the end of the 4th century B.C. Though representations of the Cypriote Pan show less variation than other examples from the rest of the Greek world, they are in no way uniform. A closer look at the Cypriote iconography of Pan proves it to be richer than might initially appear. The numerous limestone statuettes and heads of Pan housed in many of the larger collections of

Cypriote antiquities, not only bear witness to Pan's popularity and role in the religion of Hellenistic Cyprus, but also show differing stylistic trends.

The three limestone heads in Stockholm offer good examples of how differently the details of the hair and face could be rendered. MM 1982:8 has a coiffure which parts in the middle, running in deeply cut waves to the sides and behind the once pointed ears. Here the small horns almost disappear in the hair. It is an utterly different treatment to that of the hair seen in Acc. 904 and in Acc. 1162. Here we see instead a fringe, much schematised with its crudely incised lines, particularly in the last case. The differently rendered faces of the Stockholm heads give proof of definite stylistic variety. Even when they are broken off below the neck, as are the heads in the Medelhavsmuseet, Cypriote Pan may be easily identified. His head combines a face of a human, beardless and youthful, with animal ears and horns of a goat. However, they follow a domestic tradition, characterised by the strong frontality. Although not as visible as it would appear on whole figures, all three heads show this to some extent.

To what degree is the frontal emphasis of an image an immediate result of the medium used, here limestone, and the limitations imposed by it? Or is it merely a matter of artistic convention? Reyes, favouring a functional explanation, presents a good summary of the differing points of view.⁸⁵ He argues that the flat backs of sculptures made it easier to place them in rows along the walls of a sanctuary, an interpretation confirmed by actual finds.⁸⁶ Others are of

the opinion that the frontal orientation of Cypriote statuary, as seen in Archaic examples, is either based on a local tradition of relief sculpture or an attempt at imitating terracotta figures produced in one-piece moulds.⁸⁷ It has been argued that under the Greek influence the Cypriote sculptors came to appreciate sculpture in the round, which they strove to imitate. Looking at the heads in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm one may notice the strong rounding of the head of MM 1982:8, which would support the point made by Reyes that sculptures did not need to be flat. A find of a seated Pan from Golgoi, identified as Opaon Melanthios,⁸⁸ exemplifies the point that the frontal emphasis was perhaps more of a convention than actual necessity imposed by the fragile limestone. The fact remains that among Pan statuettes and a great deal of the Cypriote limestone statuary, there is barely any movement.

To what extent did these differing iconographies of Pan exist side by side and how much are they a result of developments over a longer time span? As has often been noted, the question of a chronology of sculptures is a difficult one.⁸⁹ For iconographic purposes, Flourentzos has divided the sculptures of Pan into six groups.⁹⁰ Having emphasised the richness of iconography of the god Pan in Cyprus, he has, nevertheless, applied a diachronic view to interpreting the material. He sees an evolution of types, that at the beginning of the Hellenistic era demonstrated influence from Late Classical models, whilst in sculptures of the Late Hellenistic period he traces

influences from Alexandria and Pergamon. The final development may be seen, according to Flourentzos, in the more rustic and naive forms. In instances where Pan is represented as ithyphallic, the author points to signs of syncretism with the iconography of another highly popular Hellenistic divinity, Priapus.⁹¹ The association would appear quite likely. Close ties with Alexandria, where the cult of Priapus was strongly promoted at the court of the Ptolemies⁹² may have contributed to the fusion of elements of one divinity with the other. However, the different iconographies of Pan, or at least some of them, may have existed simultaneously during the Hellenistic era. Dating those statuettes, without a proper context, to anything more precise than the Hellenistic era, possibly the third-century B.C. or somewhat later, seems to me insufficient.

Conclusions

The three limestone heads in the Cypriote collection in Stockholm discussed above represent one and the same deity, the god Pan. The sculpture Acc. 904 was already identified as Pan in 1956, and a closer examination of the storerooms of the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm has yielded two further examples. All three heads ought to be dated to the Hellenistic period, placing them in the third century B.C. or slightly later, when the god was introduced to the island and quickly became one of the more popular divinities. Stylistic comparisons show that Acc. 1162 in particular has many parallels among

heads of male and female votaries found in sanctuaries of central Cyprus around the Mesaoria plain.

NOTES

1. *SCE* IV.3, 90, pl. XI.2.

2. Oscar Wallenberg, father of the donator, was one of several private sponsors who, apart from the Swedish state, offered financial support to the Swedish Cyprus Expedition under the direction of Prof. Einar Gjerstad in the years 1927–1931 (*SCE* I, XIII).

According to the minutes of the Cyprus committee from a meeting held on 5 March 1932 and the report of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition for the period 5 February 1929 to 5 March 1932 (appendix A to the minutes of 1932), several sponsors of the expedition were to receive Cypriote objects either specifically bought for this purpose in Cyprus or from among lesser finds from the excavations of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Appendix 3 to the minutes of the meeting of the Cyprus committee from the 5 March 1932 lists the objects that derive from the excavations and were donated after being first properly published. Altogether they add up to twenty-eight objects, of which six were given to Oscar Wallenberg. As none of them was the later MM 1982:8 one may conclude that the head belonged to the objects purchased in Cyprus.

As stated in a donation letter, dated 19 March 1951, Ms. Berit Wallenberg donated several items from Cyprus to the museum in the same year. The letter specified five objects, one of them being the later MM 1982:8, which, although formally a part of the museum's Cypriote

collection, was to remain at Ms. Berit Wallenberg's house for an indefinite period of time. The head MM 1982:8 was, however, officially transferred to the museum in 1982.

3. *SCE* III, 399–415; Westholm 1936, 8.

4. The head does not figure among the objects published by Westholm in 1936. Despite the head's uncertain provenance it will, nevertheless, throughout the article, be referred to as either 'the Soli head' or by its accession number 'Acc. 1162', which is a later addition, as the head was unrecorded prior to the publication of this article.

5. The purchase is stated in the card index and in the appendix 1 to the minutes of the Cyprus committee of 4 July 1953. Although not mentioned in the accession catalogue the head is likely to have been purchased from the owner of an antiques shop in Nicosia, Mr. Petrakides, as were the accessions, which precede Acc. 904 in the catalogue (Acc. 897–903). They were all written in the same ink and handwriting as that of Acc. 904. The lack of mention in the accession catalogue regarding the purchase of Acc. 904 should rather be seen as an omission.

6. This later conclusion has been confirmed by Rikard Larsson, stone conservator at the Department of Stone Conservation at The National Heritage Board in Stockholm, on 11 February 2000.

7. *SCE* IV.3, 90, pl. XI.2.

8. Cesnola 1885, pl. CXIX. Here 13 examples of Pan, both statuettes and heads, deriving from Golgoi, were gathered.

The artefacts collected by Luigi Palma di Cesnola, during his stay in Cyprus as the first American Consul, were subsequently purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, at that time a newly founded museum, and formed the core of its collection in the late nineteenth century. Originally, the Hermitage Museum considered the possibility of

acquiring the Cesnola Collection. The sale never went through, but a scrupulous report of all objects, intended at that time for sale, was published by the Russian archaeologist Johannes Doell (Doell 1873; Connelly 1988, 77).

A sale conducted by the Anderson Galleries on 30–31 March and 20–21 April 1928, on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum, dispersed part of the collection to museums and private collections in the United States as well as abroad. For the sales catalogue see Anderson Galleries 1928. On the dispersal of the collection see Masson 1996, 25–28.

Among the objects sold were five heads of Pan. The Kelsey Museum of Archaeology in Michigan purchased two of them, namely nos. 861 and 863, pl. CXIX (Anderson Galleries 1928, nos. 495, 497; Albertson 1991, 17–18, fig. 19a–b; 23, fig. 27a–b). The fate of the remaining three heads of Pan, sold by the Anderson Galleries, is not known to me. In the sale catalogue, Anderson Galleries 1928, under the heading 225, the three statuettes of Pan were labelled 'Pan or Opaon Melanthios'. On the confusion of Pan with Opaon Melanthios see note 31.

The long-awaited publication of the present-day holdings of the Cesnola Collection, which continue to be housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, has recently appeared (Karageorghis *et al.* 2000). Of the original 13 examples of Pan, only one, the former no. 867, pl. CXIX (Cesnola 1885), carrying today no. 423, is catalogued (Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 260–261).

Part of the antiquities, collected during his stay in Cyprus, Cesnola donated to R. Academia della Scienze in Turin in 1870, an act for which he was awarded membership. The material eventually found its way to the Museo di Antichità di Torino (Lo Porto 1986, 7–8).

Also Alessandro Palma di Cesnola, Luigi's brother, had acquired Cypriote antiquities during his stay on the island. These too have been dispersed. Some of them Alessandro had later given to the Società Piemontese di Archeologia e Belle Arti, which in turn later donated them to the Museo di Antichità di Torino (Lo

Porto 1986, 7). On their dispersal and the history of the Lawrence-Cesnola collection see Masson 1957, 33–37.

9. Not just any woman, but the goddess Isis was suggested as a plausible identification of the head. In the accession catalogue one reads: 'Female head (Isis?)...On top of the head two small horns and a clumsy fragment, most likely from a moon crescent' (my translation). The allusion to the goddess Isis was unfounded, which the interpretation presented by Vessberg and Westholm in *SCE* IV.3, 90, later showed.

10. The accession catalogue describes the head as a female head and tentatively dates it to the fifth century B.C., followed by a question mark.

11. Hedreen 1992, 1.

12. Lissarague 1993, 208–212.

13. Simon 1997, 1108–1100.

14. I would like to thank Mr. Jørgen Bakke for drawing my attention to the iconography of the river-gods.

15. Michael Gais 1978, 356–357.

16. Michael Gais 1978, 356–357. Isler 1970 is probably the most comprehensive study of Acheloos, who is considered to be the most significant of all river-gods.

17. The relief, inv. no. 11, comes from Palaeopolis on Andros and is dated to 350–340 B.C. It shows three nymphs and Hermes standing in a cave. Above, centrally positioned, is a personification of the river Acheloos and in the right corner of the relief Pan is seen playing the flute.

18. Lo Porto 1986, 221, cat. no. 478 (inv. no. 4983), pl. 65. The head is slightly larger than the Stockholm head, i.e. 18 cm, and worked in a dark-coloured limestone, carrying traces of paint. On the history of the Cypriote collection of the Museo di Antichità di Torino see note 8.

19. Lo Porto 1986, 221, pl. 65.

20. Lo Porto 1986, 221.

21. *SCE* III 1937, 384.

22. Flourentzos 1989, 124, no. 38, pl. XXIX.

23. Hermay 1989, 311.

24. Some Cypriote heads of Pan do not carry androgynous or female features, but bring to mind children's faces, as exemplified in Flourentzos 1989, 125 (no. 1957/XI–16/1(6), perhaps also E. 370 (pl. XXVIII); Cesnola 1885, fig. 864 (pl. CXIX).

25. Masson 1996, 25–28.

26. Cesnola 1885, pl. CXIX. Although the archaeological value of the Cesnola Collection was appraised, strong criticism was delivered, soon after its purchase by the Metropolitan Museum. The authenticity of the provenance was questioned. Additionally, objections upon repairs and alterations of certain sculptures and attributions of the larger part of the collection to a single deposit, despite evidence speaking against it, have been raised (Stillman 1885; Gardner *et al.* 1888, 150. Summarised by Connelly 1988, 76–78; Counts 1998, 9–11).

27. Still in the holdings of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, catalogued today as no. 423 (Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 260–261).

28. Flourentzos 1989, 121–126.

29. Flourentzos 1989, 121–122.

30. Flourentzos 1989, 124.

31. Karageorghis 1979, 291–295, 298, 303, 311, pl. XLIV.

There seems to have been some confusion concerning the identity of Pan, the shepherd god, in Cyprus and that of Opaon Melanthios, a rural Cypriote divinity. To date, we know of no secure

sculptural representations of Opaon Melanthios, who is known entirely from inscriptions. These derive from the excavations of one site only, Amargetti, situated in the proximity of Paphos, and date from the reign of Ptolemaios Philadelphos to the Severan era. Among these, one dedication evoking Apollo Melanthios, stirred the discussion towards the interpretation whether Opaon is not an attribute of Apollo (Gardner *et al.* 1888, 171–178; Mitford 1946, 36–38; Mitford 1961, 109; Nicolaou 1964, 207–208; Hermary 1994, 54–55).

At first glance there seem to exist inscriptions from other sites than Amargetti. Colonna-Ceccaldi, 1874, 86–87, spoke of an inscription to Opaon Melanthios, which according to him came from the Salinae at Larnaca. Cesnola 1877, 414, referred to this and yet another inscription made to Opaon Melanthios, stating Paleo-Paphos as a place of its finding. Hogarth, in his list of Amargetti inscriptions, commented upon these two. After having explained the dubious circumstances of their coming into the possession of Cesnola, Hogarth declared that these two originated as well from Amargetti (Gardner *et al.* 1888, 262). Also Mitford 1946, 38, n. 52 & n. 53 touches upon the question of the provenance.

Among the list of finds made at Amargetti there is no mention of statuettes with pointed ears and horns (Gardner *et al.* 1888, 171–178; Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, 162–164). It is an inaccurate phrasing in Myres 1914, 177–178 that is the cause of the misunderstanding. On the one hand, Myres says that several smaller sanctuaries in Cyprus were dedicated to: 'Shepherds' Patrons and other rural deities, of the same character as the god Pan among the Greek', adding that other local gods 'bore a descriptive title, like Opaon Melanthios 'Melanthios the Companion, at Amargetti, northwest of Paphos' (177). On the other hand, in his list of sculptures, he speaks of 'Pan or Opaon Melanthios' (178). In an article dealing with finds from Lefkoniko, Myres continues to refer to 'Pan or the rustic 'Shepherd's Patron', Opaon Melanthios' (Myres 1946, 65 & 67, pl. 19). Several

publications follow his imprecise line of phrasing (Pryce 1931, 93; Caubet 1979, 32; Tatton-Brown 1997, 69).

Two scholars who have noted the misconception of Myres and his groundless assimilation of Pan with Opaon Melanthios, as well as the confusion caused by it, are Masson 1994, 274–275 and Hermary 1994, 54–55. The former has explicitly touched upon this artificial and erroneous connection between Pan and Opaon Melanthios. In 'Kypriaka, XVIII. Amargetti, un sanctuaire rural près de Paphos', (*BCH* 118, 1994, 275), Masson points out that the statuettes found at Amargetti do not have small horns, ears of a goat or other attributes characteristic of Pan. He stresses further the need to make a distinction between the artificial assimilation of the two divinities made by Myres, and the originality of Opaon Melanthios, emphasising that the iconography of the latter is not known.

Also Senff 1993, 73, n. 688, expresses scepticism, referring to the identification of Pan with Opaon Melanthios merely as an assumption.

However, some scholars connect Pan with Opaon Melanthios and refer entirely to Opaon Melanthios in connection with sculptural representations of this divinity exhibiting animal ears and horns of a goat (Karageorghis 1973, 146, no. 93; Brown 1977, 61; Karageorghis 1979, 291–303, 311; Karageorghis 1985, 246, no. 247 (pl. 247); Karageorghis 1998, 192–194). Also Bakalakis 1988, 125–126, attributed a seated, headless, goat-legged figure, found in the profane context at Golgoi during the 1969 excavations, as a statuette of Opaon Melanthios. He too, among references used for identifying the figure, relies on Myres 1914 (although stating the year of publication as 1912). Karageorghis 1970, 16, in his report on the 1969 excavations at Golgoi, refers of this statuette as 'very probably Opaon Melanthios'.

In an article from 1962, Karageorghis referred to Pan or Opaon Melanthios when speaking of a limestone figurine carrying the same characteristics (V.

Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1961', *BCH* 1962, 350, fig 29 (inv. no. 1961/VIII-17/42): 'd'une petite statue en calcaire de Pan ou du dieu des bergers Opaon Melanthios'). In the most recent publication, Karageorghis goes back to speaking of 'Pan or Opaon Melanthios' (Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 260–261), acknowledging that the identification is based on epigraphic sources. However, he continues by saying that apart from Amargetti, inscriptions or representations of Opaon Melanthios have been found elsewhere, specifying Lefkoniko, the temple of Apollo at Idalion, the temple of Aphrodite at Golgoi and the sanctuary of Apollo at Voni.

There are also those who speak of Pan when identifying the frontal, naked, statuettes with human faces, horns of a goat and animal ears (Dikaïos 1947, 76; *SCE* IV.3, 90, Caubet 1976, 173–174; Lo Porto 1986, 221; Flourentzos 1989, 121–126; Hermary 1989, 311–314). Decaudin 1987 speaks in one case of a Pan statuette (141, no. 67, pl. LIV) and in another of Pan Melanthios (151, no. 96, pl. LVIII).

Bennett makes a distinction between Pan and Opaon Melanthios and treats them as two separate divinities. Nevertheless, following Myres' classification, he believes that actual finds of Opaon Melanthios with short goat's horns and pointed ears have been made in various parts of Cyprus (Bennett 1980, 443 & 445).

32. The site, situated three miles north-east of Idalion, originally discovered by Ohnefalsch-Richter, was identified as the ancient site of worship of Reshef-Apollo and Melqart-Heracles (Ohnefalsch-Richter I, 1893, 18–19). It was looted prior to the excavations of Dikaïos, results of which were briefly treated in *CMAR* 1933, 6–7. Properly published by Karageorghis 1979.

33. Karageorghis 1979, 291–292, 294, 298, pl. XLIV.

34. Similar simplicity in style may be found in votary heads also from Potamia (Karageorghis 1979, 291 (no. 5), 292 (no.

13), 294 (no. 46), pl. XXXIX).

35 Decaudin 1987, 141-142, no. 67, pl. LI.V (inv. no. 2476). First time published in Froehner 1987, 188, (no. 976).

36. Schürmann 1984, 48-49 & 104-105 (nos. 194, 195 & 196). Most likely the mouth was painted as may be seen in the case of a female head (no. 57) in the collection of the Abbey Museum in Australia, which still carries traces of a horizontal line of red paint, indicating a mouth, Webb 1986, 28. See also a head of Pan (no. E. 45) in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia with traces of paint on the mouth (Flourentzos 1989, 121).

37. For the summary of the history of excavations at Golgoi see Connelly 1988, 75-78.

38. Hermary 1989, 173, 178-179, 182, 185, 242-243.

39. For the summary of the history of excavations at Idalion see Connelly 1988, 61-62.

40. Schürmann 1984, 51-53 (nos. 202, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215).

41. SCE II, 824.

42. SCE II, 756, 758, 791, 820, pl. CCXL.

43. Webb 1986, 28.

44. Laffineur & Vandenabeele 1990, 27, pl. V.

45. Robertson 1986, 34 & 64.

46. Riis *et al.* 1989, 102-103.

47. Cesnola 1885, pl. CXIX, nos. 856-867; Hermary 1989, 313-314; Karageorghis *et al.* 2000, 260-261.

48. Myres 1946, 53-96; Flourentzos 1989, 123, E. 370, pl. XXVIII; E. 371, pl. XXVIII; E. 405, pl. XXIV; E. 423, pl. XXVII.

49. Hermary 1989, 311 & 313.

50. Pryce 1931, 93; Senff 1993, 66.

According to Pryce, the British Museum possessed a statuette (C 231) and a torso of Pan (C 230), both from Lang's excavations at Idalion. Senff perceptively noted in a note 552 that the Pan torso does not derive from Sir R. Hamilton Lang's excavations, but from the excavations carried out in Idalion by Zeno D. Pierides. His observation is accurate, but the catalogue number of the torso stated by Senff is C 280 and must be a misprint, referring instead to C 230.

Karageorghis 1998, 194 identifies the British Museum's statuette (C 231) not as Pan, but as Opaon Melanthios.

Connelly 1988, 62 refers to finds of eleven Hellenistic statues of Pan, made at the sanctuary of Apollo in Idalion.

51. Karageorghis 1979, 291-294, 298, 303, 311, pl. XLIV; Flourentzos 1989, no. 1933/X-21/3 & no. 1933/X-21/5, pl. XXIX.

52. Flourentzos 1989, 124, no. 1934/IV-27/26; no. 1934/IV-27/31, pl. XXIX.

53. Toumazou *et al.* 1998, 172-173; Counts 1998, 191.

54. Flourentzos 1989, 124, 1952/III-17/7, pl. XXVII.

55. Flourentzos 1989, 124, 1957/XI-16/1 (b), pl. XXVIII.

56. Ohnefalsch-Richter I, 1893, 377; Ohnefalsch-Richter II, 1893, pl. LXII. 5.

57. Myres & Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, 170, no. 6118; Myres 1946, 67 (CMC 6118); Caubet 1976, 176, n. 2 & n. 6.

58. Bennett 1980, 727, 730, 731.

59. In Arcadia, as in other parts of the Greek world, Pan was from the very beginning and throughout antiquity worshipped in caves, natural or artificially constructed, situated in the outskirts of the city. The urban surrounding of the cave of Pan on the northern slope of Acropolis of Athens ought to be seen as

an exception rather than a rule, although it has been suggested to be a conscious attempt to bring the wild under control (Walter 1980, 48-49; Owen 2000, 140).

60. Decaudin 1987, 141-142, 247.

61. Caubet 1976, 173-174.

62. Hermary 1989, 311-314, esp. 312.

63. Toumazou 1991, 316-317; Toumazou *et al.* 1995, 330; Herscher 1995, 281; Toumazou *et al.* 1998, 163, 166. The sanctuary, originally discovered and excavated in 1862 by Edmont Duthoit, the architect accompanying Count Melchior de Vogüé, who led a French Mission to Cyprus, was looted in the 1930s and rediscovered during the field season of 1991 by The Athienou Archaeological Project (AAP), under the direction of Prof. Michael K. Toumazou. The Athienou Archaeological Project, aiming at investigating long-term cultural changes in the Malloura Valley, has been in progress since 1990. For the early history of the French Mission, see Masson & Caubet 1980, 136-142; Foucart-Borville 1985, 3-53.

64. Toumazou *et al.* 1998, 172-173; Counts 1998, 191.

65. Counts 1998, 72, n. 261. The statuettes of Pan at Athienou-Malloura were attributed to Phase II, which on stratigraphic grounds was dated to the Hellenistic period. Due to their Hellenistic date, the statuettes of Pan fall outside of Counts' study. In his outline, Counts speaks of two phases in the history of the sanctuary at Athienou-Malloura. The first one is dated to the Archaic-Classical period (seventh century B.C. until the end of the fourth century B.C., at the time when the sanctuary was re-organised) succeeded by a Hellenistic (Roman?) phase. The duration of the second phase cannot be determined with certainty, but finds point to the first or second century A.D. (Counts 1998, 60-61).

I would like to thank Dr. C. Beer for drawing my attention to this work and at

the same time lending me her copy of the volume.

66. This find and the rest of the Malloura sculptures await publication. Personal communication with Prof. Toumazou, the director of the Athienou Archaeological Project, to whom I am indebted for letting me study a photograph of the unpublished head, AAP-AM 1646. According to Prof. Toumazou, the Malloura finds of Pan torsos cover the types studied by Flourentzos 1989, 124–126.

67. Avraamides 1971, 114–115.

68. Bennett 1980, 714.

69. Masson 1960, 139–141; Hermay 1986, 405–409.

70. This notion goes back to his intervention at Marathon on behalf of the Athenians (Herod. VI.105.2–3), but develops only in the Hellenistic period (Launey 1949, 934–936; Jost 1985, 473; Smith 1989, 42–43).

Archaeological evidence for the cult of Pan in Attica cannot be dated to much earlier than the fifth century B.C. (Wickens 1986, 170; Parker 1996, 164, n. 38).

71. Among the Hellenistic rulers especially Antigonos Gonatas is said to have held Pan in special favour. Having previously helped the Athenians at Marathon, Pan has long been said to be responsible for Antigonos' victory over the Celts at Lysimacheia in 277 B.C., where he struck the enemy lines with 'panic terror' (Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 129; Tarn 1913, 174, 226; Heichelheim 1943, 332–333; Launey 1949, 934–936; Laubscher 1985, 340).

Smith 1988, 42, n. 99 remarks that although this is held to be the accepted view, there are no ancient sources supporting Pan's aid on behalf of Antigonos Gonatas at Lysimacheia. Smith's statement may very well be true as the evidence is either numismatic and the date questioned (see below) or based on a reference to Aratos' hymn in honour of

Pan (*vit. Arat* and *Suda* in *Schol. Arat.* 9, 19; 15, 29; 22, 12). See Leon 1989, 21, n. 4 for the most recent bibliography.

The 'panic terror' in connection with the victory at Lysimacheia and the date of the battle have, however, been questioned by Nachtergaele 1977, 167–168 and Buraselis 1982, 110–111. Mathisen 1981, 110–114 has on the other hand argued convincingly that the tetradrachm depicting Pan does not refer to the battle of Lysimacheia, but was struck to commemorate Antigonos Gonatas' victory over Pyrrhos in 272 B.C. and was issued to finance the Chremonidean War ca. 268–261 B.C. To honour his patron, Antigonos Gonatas founded the *Panaia*, a festival in Pan's honour, in 245 B.C. on the island of Delos, an event that is epigraphically attested (Tarn 1913, 380–381; Bruneau 1970, 560–561).

The reference to goat's horns may have had another meaning for the Macedonian rulers, referring to the legend of Karanos of Argos, the legendary founder of the Macedonian dynasty, who following an oracle settled down where the goats were grazing. The name of the capital that he founded, Aigae (Goat City), reflects the association with a goat (Parke & Wormell 1956, 63; Hammon & Griffith 1979, 5).

An alternative version of the same oracle relates to Perdikkas, who is said to have received the reply when he wished to extend the size of his kingdom: Diod. Sic. 7.16.

Bergmann 1998, 16–31, esp. 20 & 25, discusses the problem of interpretation of the theomorphic representation of rulers. In connection with Pan and his association with the Hellenistic rulers, Bergmann concludes that it is not a matter of becoming the divinity, but a metaphorical association, aiming at representing oneself with some of his qualities.

72. Ptolemy Philadelphos encouraged the poetry of Theokritos, who dedicated his poem *Syrinx* to Pan, which is believed to have been composed during his stay in Alexandria and to have been presented in the Paneion (Castiglione 1978, 185, n. 44).

The Paneion in Alexandria has traditionally been identified with Fort Kom ed

Dik, although there is no trace of the antique artificial hill. A summary with references is presented in Fraser 1972, 29 & n. 209–212.

73. Consider though the headless seated figure holding a shield, which was found in Golgoi in a profane context.

74. Senff 1993, 79. Neither does Pan belong to the official ruler iconography of the Ptolemies (Marquardt 1995, 332). Svensson 1995, 215–216 lists in her catalogue three representations of Ptolemaic rulers wearing goat's horns. One of them, a smaller-than-life-size portrait in red granite, today in the Albertinum in Dresden, has been previously identified by Kyrieleis 1975, 12, 166, pl. 6.1–2 as Ptolemy Soter. There is, however, no consensus among scholars regarding the identification.

75. The earliest representations of Pan that we know of occur on vases. A fragment of a volute crater, dated to ca. 500–490 B.C., today in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam, is among the earliest one known. There, an all-goat figure of Pan is standing upright, playing a double *aulos* in a banquet scene (Hübinger 1992, 206; Boardman 1997, 924).

Another early depiction of Pan may be seen on an Attic amphora, dated to ca. 490 B.C., today in the South Africa Historical Museum of Cape Town. There too Pan is portrayed as an all-goat figure, standing upright. As can be seen from these early scenes, the god is bestialized, more resembling a satyr (Boardman & Pope 1961, 7–8, no. 2, pl. 2; Boardman 1997, 924).

76. Marquardt 1995.

77. Hass 1985, 97–100, lists either late Classical or Hellenistic relief, mainly from Attica, Boiotia or Thasos, where Pan is depicted as a goat-legged god. Several of the relief are actually cut in front of caves.

Also on a red-figured hydria, from the early fourth century B.C., Pan, seated in the company of Dionysos, is depicted goatlegged, with an animal tail and a semi-

human face, i.e. long beard and voluminous hair and horns of a goat (Boardman & Pope 1961, 14–15, pl. XI–XII).

78. The development of Pan's imagery is said to echo that of the satyr's, beginning as a goat and gradually transforming into more human. It has therefore been suggested that Pan's early association in art with Dionysos, i.e. on vases of the late Archaic/early Classical era, must be due to Pan's animal nature shared with Dionysos' companions, the satyrs. This connection is limited entirely to iconography, as their cults had nothing in common (Borgeaud 1988, 178; Flourentzos 1989, 121; Boardman 1997, 940).

79. An exception is a dressed representation of Pan in the British Museum (no. C 231). Here Pan is represented wearing both a tunic and a cloak, holding in one hand a *syrix* and in the other a *lagobolon*, a device for catching hares. The sculpture comes from Idalion, from the excavations carried out in 1868 at the sanctuary of Resheph-Apollo by R. Hamilton Lang. His collection of sculpture was offered to the British Museum and comprises the core of its collection of Cypriote antiquities, which was catalogued by Pryce in 1931 (Pryce 1931, 93, no. C 231; Senff 1993, 66 & taf. 49 d–f).

Another deviation from the prevailing manner of representing Pan in Cyprus may be seen in the statuette of Pan from the Musée Archéologique Municipal in Laon (inv. 37630), where Pan is wearing a small conical cap (Decaudin 1987, 70, pl. XXX).

80. Hass 1985, 73. Syrix, the object of Pan's pursuits, wishing to escape him, asked for help and was transformed into reeds, from which Pan later made his pipe (Ovid. *Met.* 1.689–1.712).

81. Pryce 1931, 93.

82. Karageorghis 1970, 16–17; Bakalakis 1988, 125–126, pl. 80:1.

83. Bakalakis (1988, 126) bases the identification upon Myres 1914, although

stating the date of the publication as 1912. Karageorghis 1970, 16 describes this particular statuette as highly likely representing Opaon Melanthios. On the confusion of Pan with Opaon Melanthios see note 31.

84. Considering the fact that the head of the statuette is missing, a satyr would appear a possible interpretation, as they occasionally, although rarely, may appear armed. However, depictions of satyrs carrying shields are known from vases, mainly red-figure vases, and not to my knowledge from other media. Some of them have been collected by Lissarrague 1987, 111–120, esp. 115–117.

Consider also the legs of the statuette, which are legs of a goat and not of a horse, thus, pointing in the direction of Pan and not a satyr.

85. Reyes 1994, 38–39.

86. Connelly refers to statues being lined up against the wall at Golgoi or against each other at Kition. At Tamassos smaller votives, amongst them a figure of a temple boy, carried traces of wall plaster suggesting that they were plastered to the sanctuary wall (Cesnola 1877, 139; Connelly 1989, 215; Connelly 1991, 96).

87. On the discussion concerning the development of the Cypriote sculpture and its relationship to the terracotta statuary see SCE IV.2, 97; Hermay 1991, 146; Karageorghis 1994, 9–12, esp. 10–11.

88. The mixing of the identity of Pan with Opaon Melanthios has been fully treated in note 31.

89. Connelly 1988, 6.

90. Flourentzos 1989, 124–126.

91. Flourentzos 1989, 125–126.

92. The grand procession of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos (308–246 B.C.), described by Kallixeinos of Rhodes in *Peri Alexandreias* (FGrHist 627, F2) and preserved in Athen. *Deipnosophistai* V 197c–203b, is

the earliest record of Priapus appearance in Alexandria. For the major role of Priapus in the religious life of Alexandria see Herter 1932, 14–19; Rice 1983, 107–108.

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ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the abbreviations recommended by *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, 2000, 10–24, the following have been used:

CMAR

Cyprus Museum Annual Report

SOURCES

Athen.

Athenaios, *The deipnosophist with an English translation by C. B. Gulick*, vol. II, London & New York 1928.

Diod.

Sic. Diodoros Siculos, *Diodorus of Sicily with an English translation by C.H. Oldfather*, vol. III, London & Cambridge Mass., 1952.

FGrHist

Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, vol. 3: *Geschichte von Staedten und Voelkern (Horographie und Ethnographie)*, ed. F. Jacoby, Leiden 1958.

Herod.

Herodotos, *The histories*. Translated by Robin Waterfield with an introduction and notes by Carolyn Dewald, Oxford 1998.

Ovid. Met.

Ovidius, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid*. A new verse translation by Allen Mandelbaum, San Diego & London 1995.

ScholArat

Scholia in Aratum vetera, ed. J. Martin, Stuttgart 1972.

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VOTIVE HEADS FROM CENTRAL ITALY IN STOCKHOLM AND TORONTO

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In museums throughout the world, there are many single as well as groups of various sizes of mould-made terracotta votive heads from Central Italy. In many cases, information is lacking as to their more precise provenance. In this article, two groups of votive heads, one from the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto the other from the Medelhavsmuseet (Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities) in Stockholm, will be considered. The former group consists of four heads, the latter of five. One of the heads in the Medelhavsmuseet (NM Ant 1996) is on long term deposit from the National Museum in Stockholm. They all have in common that they lack information as to their provenance. Without knowing where they were found, it is very difficult to decide where they were used, let alone where they were made. Still, although no certain results can be achieved in these matters, the artefacts themselves may yield some indications as to how and when they were made. As to the latter, style is used as a criterion for chronology, which means that only the handmade archetypes, used for producing moulds, can be dated. The casts are merely mechanical reproductions, in most cases lacking any

stylistic features of their own.¹

Several of the archetypes used for the production of votive heads must certainly have been works of art in themselves, as shown for instance by the types represented here. This Italic production was heavily influenced by contemporary styles emanating from the Greek world. It is, above all, the development of these Greek styles that may serve as a criterion for the chronology of the archetypes.

In the following, I will start by presenting each type and cast separately, including a suggestion of the date of the archetypes. Thereafter, I shall discuss more closely the technique, the distribution of the production and, finally, the function of the votive heads.

Type A

This type represents the head of a young, beardless man of Classical features. His hair is rendered in short, thick, somewhat wavy curls which overlap one another, especially on top of the head. Each curl is covered with thin grooves. Two of the curls on top of the forehead make a symmetrical pattern, like a "claw", with tips pointing towards the forehead. The forehead is low and the

crown is broad. The forehead-noseridge line is straight. The nose-wings and nostrils are marked. The eyes are large and have plastically hinted pupils. The eyelids are plastic as well, the lower ones straight, the upper ones elongated pointing downwards across the temples. The ears are protruding, fully visible, the left one is particularly well formed. In front of each ear runs a perpendicular curl. The lips are thick. The chin is protruding. There is a dimple below the lips. The neck is broad. The annuent muscles are hinted at.

As to the casts in Stockholm, MM 1968:18-20 derive from the Fogelberg collection of ancient terracottas of the Academy of Arts which was acquired by the Medelhavsmuseet in 1968. Nothing is known as to their provenance apart from the information given by Erik Lindberg in a catalogue that they derive from the Italian region. NM Ant 1996 was a part of a larger donation from Mrs Carolina Bendicks-Bruce, Visby.

There are two types similar to Type A which are represented by a head and a half statue respectively. Both come from Capua² while another statue derives from Bologna.³ These types have been dated to around 300 B.C.⁴

ROM 925-55-7

(Figs. 1-3)

PRESERVATION Minor chips and abrasions of the surface.

Crack at the right where the chin meets the neck.

CAST From a fresh mould.

SURFACE Front even. Back uneven.

BACK Flat. Hole in centre, approx. 3.4 cm².

RIM No rim.

COLOUR Surface: 10 YR 7.5/3 very pale brown.

Break: 10 R 5.5/6 light red-red.

MEASURES Maximum Height: 30.2 cm. Forehead-Chin: 9.5 cm.

Mouth-Chin: 6.0 cm. Width between eyes: 9.3 cm.



MM 1968:18

(Figs. 4-6)

PRESERVATION Abrasions on forehead.

Tip of nose and point of chin abraded.

CAST From a rather worn mould.

SURFACE Brushmarks on back.

BACK Flat. Hole in centre, approx. 2.5 cm².

RIM No rim.

COLOUR Surface: 10 YR 7.5/3 very pale brown.

Break: 10 R 5.5/6 light red-red.

MEASURES MH: 25; FC: 9.5; MC: 6.0; E: 9.3

DESCRIPTION Pupils plastically rendered.



MM 1968:19

(Figs. 7-9)

PRESERVATION Missing base below neck and top parts of rim. Nosetip abraded.

CAST From a somewhat worn cast.

SURFACE Encrustations from rootmarks on front.

BACK Flat back.

RIM Very broad beside neck.

COLOUR Surface: 2.5 YR 6/5 light reddish brown light red. Break: edge: 2.5 YR 6/5 light reddish brown light red; core: 5 YR 6.5/2 pinkish grey.

MEASURES MH: 28.8; FC: 16.2; MC: 6.2; E: 9.3.

DESCRIPTION Pupils plastically rendered.





MM 1968:20

(Figs. 10–13)

PRESERVATION Missing base below neck.

CAST From a rather worn cast.

SURFACE Paint: Red on face and dark on hair. Traces of light slip on face and hair. Encrustations on front and back. Brushmarks on back.

BACK Curved. Vertical vent hole on top of back, 2.8 cm².

RIM Following the line of the figure when frontally viewed.

COLOUR Paint: red: 7.5 R 4.5/6 red.; Dark on hair: 2.5

YR 3.5/2 weak red-dusky red. Light slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink-light brown.

Break: 2.5 YR 6/6 light red.

MEASURES MH: 29.2; FC: 16.2; MC: 6.2; E: 9.3.

DESCRIPTION Pupils plastically rendered.





NM ANT 1996

(Figs. 14-16)

PRESERVATION Missing nose. Most of rim abraded.

CAST From a rather fresh cast

SURFACE Brushmarks on back.

BACK Curved.

RIM broad beside neck.

COLOUR Paint: surface: 10 R5/4 weak red. Break: 10 R 5/5 weak red-red.

MEASURES MH: 28.6; FC: 16.1; MC: 6.3.

DESCRIPTION Pupils plastically rendered.



Type B

This type is represented by a single right-profile head. It is very similar to type A, representing the head of a young, beardless man of Classical features. However this head is cast from a mould that was more worn than any of the ones representing type A. The hair is rendered in short, thick, somewhat wavy curls which overlap one another. The crown is broad and rises above the forehead. The forehead-noseridge line is straight. The nose wings and the nostrils are marked. The eyes are large. The eyelids are plastic, the lower one straight, the upper one somewhat elongated. The lips are thick. The chin is protruding.

Owing to its close similarities to type A, this type should most likely be given a date corresponding to that of type A, to around 300 B.C.

MM 1968:34

(Figs. 17-19)

PRESERVATION Tip of nose abraded.

CAST From a rather worn cast.

SURFACE Brushmarks on back.

BACK Curved.

RIM Running straight when frontally viewed.

COLOUR Surface: 7.5 YR 6.5/5 pink-light brown-reddish yellow.

MEASURES MH: 24.8; FC: 12.7; MC: 4.4;

DESCRIPTION Pupils plastically rendered.



Type C

A young man of delicate features is shown full-frontal with wavy, irregular locks and thin tips. Two locks curl symmetrically over the forehead centre, making a kind of anastole. The facial features are regular. The eyes are almond-shaped; the upper eyelids are plastically rendered and elongated. The right ear is small, left one is blurred. The noseridge is rather blurred. Nosewings and nostrils vaguely indicated. Median line of upper lip indicated. Lips slightly open. Chin round and even.

The anastole that can be seen above the centre of the forehead appears in many versions on votive heads. The typological pattern of the Italic archetypes, emanating from the portraiture of Alexander, has been thoroughly discussed by Hafner. I may in particular consider a head in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz, dated by Hafner to the second half of the third century B.C.⁵ The head in Mainz has no proper anastole but two thick curls running sideways above the forehead which, still according to Hafner, emanates from the Alexandrian hairstyle. Indeed, our type C shows many similarities to the head in Mainz, such as for instance the rather thick noseridge, the elongated eyes and the short mouth with thick lips. Another type which is very close to ours is represented by casts from Rome, Castel di Decima and Lucus Feroniae, showing an asymmetric claw of curls above the centre of the forehead.⁶ This type has also been dated to the late third century by Hoffer, although a somewhat later date has been suggested by the present author. However, type C from Toronto is probably somewhat earlier than the Roman-Latinal type and should in all likelihood be dated to the third century B.C.

This type should most likely be given a date corresponding to that of type A, around 300 B.C.

ROM 910X222.4

(Figs. 20–22).

PRESERVATION About one half of neck missing on left part of head. Horizontal crack under the chin. Tip of nose abraded.

CAST From a rather fresh mould.

SURFACE Front and back even. Brushmarks on front.

BACK Curved. Large hole in centre, approx. 4.3 cm².

RIM Yes.

COLOUR Surface: 2.5 YR 5.5/6 light red-red.

Break: 2.5 YR 5/6 red. Core: 5 YR 6/2 pinkish grey.

MEASURES MH: 27; FC: 15.0; MC: 4.8; E: 7.8.





Type D

This type represents a female head. The locks are thick and irregular, one descending on to the forehead on the left side. The fringe is uneven, low on the forehead. The facial features are even. The noseridge is slightly convex and rather thin. The eyes are elongated. The ears are blurred. Pendant earrings are hinted at. The chin is straight and protruding.

A similar type with very irregular locks of hair comes from the alleged temple of Minerva Medica on the Esquiline in Rome.⁷ Other female types of heads similar to ours come from Cerveteri and have been dated to the third century B.C. by Hafner.⁸ A corresponding date is therefore suggested for type D.



ROM 910X222.3

(Figs. 23–26)

PRESERVATION Missing base below neck. Tip of nose chipped.

CAST From a rather fresh mould.

SURFACE Small surface holes on front. Back uneven, with spatula marks.

BACK Curved. Large hole in centre, approx. 4.1 cm².

RIM Yes.

COLOUR Surface: 5 YR 5.5/4 light reddish brown – reddish brown. Break: edge: 2.5 YR 5.5/4 red. Core: 5 YR 6/2 pinkish grey. 5 YR 5.5/4 light reddish brown – reddish brown.

MEASURES MH: 33; FC: 13; MC: 3.7; E: 8.7.





Type E

This type represents a female head. The head is broad-featured, with thick hair swept sideways from a central part covering the tops of the ears. Wisps of hair protrude from the main mass, two symmetrically in a tong-like form at the centre of the forehead, one each over the eyes, at the temples and in front of the forehead, one each over the eyes, at the temples and in front of the ears, the latter curved. The forehead has a triangular shape when viewed from the top. The forehead-noseridge is straight. The eyes are deep-set, the mouth is undulating, the chin is small. The earrings are elongated pendants. The left one is incised with two parallel cross-wise lines near the bottom. There are annuent muscles indicated on the neck. Incised line marks the "Venus ring". There is an unusual kind of decoration at the top of the head consisting of two concentric crescents with the rounded sides facing front.

This type is closely comparable to another one from Capua, which has been dated to the latter half of the fourth century.⁹

ROM 910X222.1

(Figs. 27-29)

PRESERVATION Rim chipped. Abrasions above left eyebrow, on lips and chin, along noseridge and at front of base.

CAST From a rather fresh mould.

SURFACE Front even. Back uneven.

Traces of a pale slip.

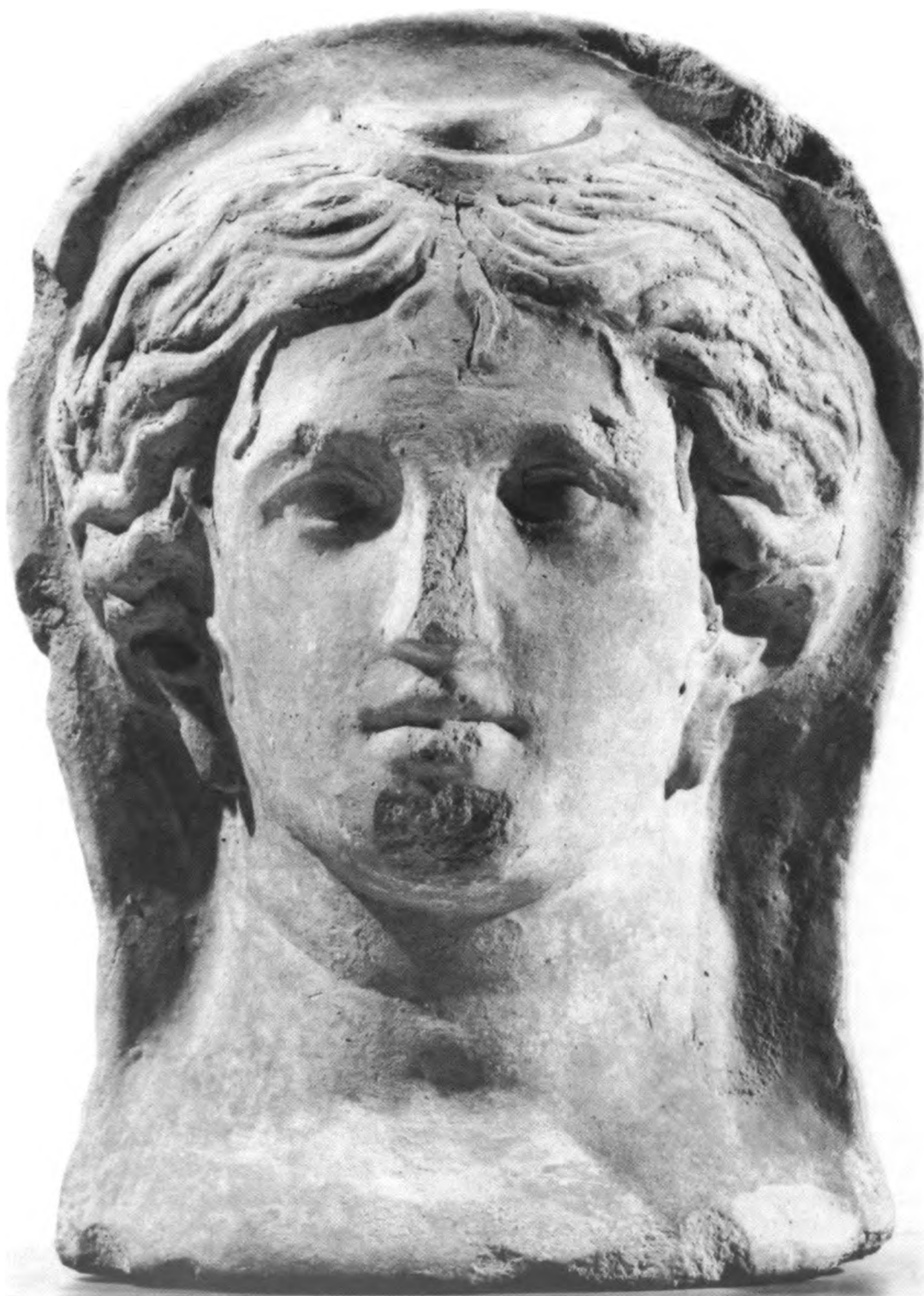
BACK Profile line straight. Hole in centre, approx. 2.9 cm².

RIM Yes.

COLOUR Surface: 2.5 YR 5/4 reddish brown. Break: 5 YR 6/4 light reddish brown.

MEASURES MH: 33; FC: 15; MC: 5; E: 9.





Technique and distribution

All heads are made by a single frontal mould whereas the back was hand-made. Single moulded votive heads appear in very large numbers in the fourth to the early first centuries B.C., above all in the eastern parts of Central Italy, comprising Etruria, Latium Vetus and Campania. It can be assumed, without doubt, that all heads derive from somewhere in this region.

The moulds derived, as mentioned above, from handmade models, archetypes. From each archetype, numerous moulds could be made, each of which could be used for a large number of artefacts. Furthermore, each head could serve as a new model, a new archetype, for a new generation of moulds which in their turn could be used for a second generation of heads. Heads from three successive generations of moulds are not unusual,¹⁰ while five generations are known from Capua.¹¹ The system made it possible to mass-produce terracottas from a relatively small amount of handmade originals. Frequently, new casts from different locations and collections deriving from the same archetype have been identified by scholars. Each identification of casts from the same archetype means reconstructing parts of the ancient serial production. Nevertheless, although long series of dozens or even hundreds of heads have been ascribed to a single archetype, the heads that are preserved and the attributions to archetypes, moulds and generations that are being made are still only a small fraction of the amount that was actually produced in Antiquity. In fact, a reconstruction of the ancient serial production of votive heads from a South Etruscan sanctua-

ry was carried out in order to estimate the quantity of the ancient serial production.¹² By comparing the wear of the moulds of the approximately 170 preserved votive heads with the wear of the modern moulds used in the reconstructed serial production, the minimum number of heads produced by the ancient moulds before they were used on the preserved heads could be roughly estimated. There could be no doubt about that the ancient heads testified to a production that must have comprised several thousands of heads before they were used for the actually preserved votive heads.

Another result of the mass potential of the ancient terracotta production is the diffusion of a single type to various regions and locations. Various kinds of votive and architectural terracottas made from identical or related moulds have frequently been found in different places in Italy. This evidence has raised the question concerning the ways by which the artefacts were transported from the location of production to the location of use. In fact, the problem is even more complicated, since the production of the handmade archetype, mentioned above, and the actual serial production of the casts may not have taken place in the same location. Indeed, it is theoretically possible that also the locations where the terracottas were sold were different from the locations where they were finally used. In theory, I could therefore consider one possible location for the creation of the archetype, another one for the serial production, a third location where the artefacts were sold and a fourth one where they were used.

Concerning the distribution of

the types, i. e. casts made of identical moulds or moulds related to the same archetype, one possibility that has been considered is travelling workshops. The theory of travelling terracotta workshops was initially introduced as an explanation for roof decoration from various locations in Central Italy which were made from identical or related moulds. At present, these parallels are only a few of the large number that have been found in most of the larger centres throughout Central and South Italy, comprising moulds from several different types used for antefixes, votive heads and to a lesser degree on vessels and sarcophagi.¹³ Some epigraphical evidence has been suggested in favour of travelling workshops as well. Finds from Rimini and Cupra Maritima on the Adriatic have corresponding inscriptions of the name of the coroplast, Dionysos from Colophon.¹⁴ Votive terracottas and moulds with identical maker's marks have been found in various places in South Italy as well.¹⁵ In the Eastern Mediterranean, they are also common, occurring on casts as well as on moulds.¹⁶ Sometimes, only a sign was applied either by incision or by a stamp.¹⁷ None of the heads presented here have any inscriptions. In fact, hardly any such parallels are known from Central Italy. This could be accidental but may also indicate different traditions. Currently, there are only two known inscriptions associated with Central Italic votive heads. One, a name that probably belonged to the craftsman, is found on a head from Fregellae and the other a name found on a mould from Falerii.¹⁸ Unfortunately, both inscriptions are singular.¹⁹

Travelling workshops are only one of several possibilities of how the types could have been distributed. The most important alternatives are mould and product circulation. Mould circulation represents a distribution of moulds by trade or exchange from a seat of central production to various local workshops. The main argument against this way of distribution is that a mould would have had too high a production value to have been sold or exchanged. The maker's marks found on some preserved moulds could indicate that they were considered valuable. However, only a very small part of the preserved moulds have inscriptions.²⁰ Furthermore, marks have also been found on casts, some of which probably also belong to the maker. These were, no doubt, sold, in spite of being potential prototypes. A good first-generation cast could serve as a prototype for moulds that, apart from a somewhat smaller size, would produce casts that would be fairly equal in quality to the first-generation casts. The frequent use of remoulding suggests that the resulting reduction in scale was no obstacle. Therefore, it can be doubted whether moulds were actually considered so valuable that they were not traded. Furthermore, evidence of mould circulation comprising several local South Etruscan productions, such as Tarquinia, Vulci and Tuscania, has been presented by the present author.²¹

Product circulation represents the distribution of ready-made artefacts from a central workshop to various locations of sale and use. This seems to have been a very common way of distribution of votive terracottas, as shown by the study of finds from Tessennano, mentioned above.²² In

this study, different ways of distribution could be discerned by comparing votive heads from various locations made from identical or related moulds. Hand-made features, notably the backs and rims, as well as the raw material were studied. For the latter, various scientific methods were used, such as petrographic microscopy of thin sections, X-Ray Diffraction (XRD) and Thermal Colour Tests (TCT). As regards the heads presented in this article, no samples have been taken for the study of the raw material. Since their provenance is unknown, any study as to their ways of distribution would have had to start by trying to discern the location where they were found. This would, no doubt, be a very difficult task. Nothing can therefore be said with certainty about how the heads were distributed. However, considering the results from the previous study of the South Etruscan votive terracottas, product circulation seems to be by far the most normal way of distribution, whereas there are only a few cases of mould circulation. Evidence for travelling workshops involved in the distribution of types of votive terracottas is lacking so far. Of course, this does not mean that such workshops did not exist. Especially concerning architectural terracottas, large and temporary projects, such as the decorations of newly built temples, could have called for more craft than could be locally acquired. However, as regards mouldmade votive terracottas, there are no circumstances that would make travelling workshops seem probable. With good reason, I can therefore assume that the types and casts represented by the votive heads discussed here were distributed

either by product or mould circulation. Of course, one should also consider the possibility of a combination of both ways of distribution. Moulds could have been distributed from the location where the archetypes were made to various locations, each of which could have functioned as a seat of a central production distributing ready-made artefacts to other locations.

Function

Heads and other votive terracottas, such as anatomical votives, human and animal figurines and pottery were accumulated during decades and centuries of cult practice in the sanctuaries in Central Italy. In different ways, they were buried in votive deposits within the sacred precincts of the sanctuaries. The votive gifts could either be buried directly in the earth in the moment when the gift was dedicated. Such deposits, known as open votive deposits, could be used over centuries, gradually accumulating new kinds of offerings. Often, however, they were buried on a particular occasion in a deposit within the sacred precinct of a sanctuary.²³ The reason could probably be that the sanctuary was threatened by war or had been destroyed by fire or earthquakes. Of course, I know nothing regarding the ways by which the heads presented in this study were buried. It seems, however, very plausible that several of them were either displayed in the sanctuaries and later buried in close deposits or put directly in open deposits together with various kinds of anatomical votives, such as hands, feet, arms, legs and internal organs. Heads are

frequently found together with such kinds of votive gifts.

Whereas the function of several of the anatomical figures in all likelihood should be associated with the health and diseases of the votaries, each part of the human body representing either a sick, wounded or healed part of the body of the votary, there is a large variety of possible interpretations of the functions of the heads. There seem to be two general alternative interpretations.

First, I may consider the possibility that heads were given in order to cure or prevent illnesses located in the head or to thank heavenly (or earthly) powers for cures already received. If so, heads belong to the same category as all the other kinds of anatomical terracottas. Profile heads and masks and the less frequent quarter heads, representing different parts of the human head, have been suggested to correspond to the precise location of the wound or illness.²⁴

The other main possible explanation is that the heads are *pars pro toto* renderings of the entire human body. In other words, the votive heads would thus be abbreviated representations of the votaries *in toto*. In that case, profile and quarter heads are only further abbreviations. These two alternatives require that I take a closer look in each of them.

I may start with the first alternative, that the heads represented only that part of the body which should be cured for diseases or wounds. There has hardly been any discussion at all concerning what kind of illnesses may have caused the donation of a votive head, since heads with signs of pathology are very unusual.²⁵ On the

other hand, this lack of visible signs could hardly *per se* disprove that they were given in order to cure various kinds of pathological conditions of the head since such indications are rarely found on the anatomical votives either.²⁶ In both cases, the absence could be explained as a result of the moulding technique, diminishing the possibilities of any kind of individualization, including pathological defects. Votive heads are frequently classified together with anatomical votives in various publications,²⁷ but this is probably due to convenience rather than expressing an interpretation. The view that votive heads should be considered as an anatomical representation of a particular part of the human body, has, in fact, few explicit supporters.

The alternative interpretation, that heads are abbreviated representations of the votaries, like portrait busts, seems like an attractive interpretation, since they include a function related to illnesses and wounds as well. This would mean that heads may have been given in order to express the pietas of the votary, a constant presence at the sanctuary. They may have been given not only in relation to prayers for health, but also in association with marriage and initiation rites.²⁸ The fact that several heads were made from moulds identical or related to those used for votive statues seems to support this interpretation. Often, statues hold some kind of offering in their hand, such as an apple or a grape, suggesting that votive statues as well as votive heads render the votaries in the act of sacrificing. As can be seen on all the casts presented here, heads are frequently surrounded by a rim,

which probably represents the velum, the veil by which the votary according to the Roman custom covered his head when committing any sacral acts. Previous studies have shown that heads with velum appear in Roman or Latial contexts, whereas heads without appear in Etruscan sites. It would therefore seem reasonable to assume that the votaries represented by the heads discussed here were adhering to the Roman cult practice.

Conclusions

The considerations regarding the votive heads from Toronto and Stockholm which have been presented here can partly be regarded as a summary of the current state of most of the knowledge regarding votive heads in general. The heads have been dated to the fourth and third centuries B.C. by comparing the styles with contemporary Greek art. They are all made from a single mould whereas the back is hand-made. The types were probably distributed from sites of central production to various locations of use. However, the possibility that moulds were traded cannot be excluded. The rims of all the heads probably represent the velum by which one had to cover oneself while sacrificing according to the Roman cult practice.

NOTES

1. Hoffer 1985, 9. Söderlind 1999, 77.
2. Bonghi Jovino 1971, 65f, no. 40, tav. 30, 3-4.
3. Hafner 1961, 35f, fig. 8.
4. For a full list of similar casts and types of votive heads, see Bonghi Jovino 1965, 89-91, tav. 42, 3 (P iv a 1).
5. Hafner 1966/67, 45f, Taf. 15, 3. For a similar date of the head from Mainz, see Hoffer 1985, using structural-typological criteria for the dating, differing from the traditional stylistic criteria used by Hafner.
6. One cast is in the Classical Museum of Antiquities in Lund, Sweden. For this and other casts of the same type from the locations just mentioned, see Söderlind 1996, 136-142.
7. Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, G IV.
8. Hafner 1965, 45-57.
9. See Bonghi Jovino 1965, 47f, tav. 14, 3-4.
10. See Vagnetti 1971, 159, note 6 and Söderlind 1999, 39-41.
11. See Bonghi Jovino 1971, 7.
12. Söderlind 1999, 98.
13. For parallel moulds used on votive heads from Fregellae and head antefixes from Ceprano, see Ferrea 1986, 92. For Capua, see Bonghi Jovino 1965, KI a1, 74, fig. 31, 3-4; D XII a 1, 42, fig. 15, 1; Bonghi Jovino 1971, 17, n. 3. For parallels with vessels, see Hoffer 1985, 129f.; Bonghi Jovino 1990, 47f. The only parallels between votive heads and heads of lid statues on sarcophagi are the ones from Tessennano and Tuscania, discussed in Söderlind 1999. Gentili (1994, 136, n. 72; 157, 163) already observed some of these. For a large number of parallels between votive heads from different locations, see Steingraber 1980, 233f.

14. Susini (1965) considers the possibility of itinerancy as well as mould circulation, see *ibid.* 304.

15. For further references, see Kingsley 1977, 42f., 98f., 102f.

16. Over fifty names of Hellenistic terracotta craftsmen have been documented in the Hellenistic East, see Uhlenbrock 1990, 15f.

17. For incised signs, see Töpperwein 1976, 9, no. 103. For stamps, see Burr 1934, 41, no. 22.

18. For the inscription from Fregellae, see Steingraber 1980, 233, n. 185. For the inscription from Falerii Novi, "T(itus) Fourios T(iti) F(ilius)", see Hoffer 1985, 132f., n. 542.

19. There is also some literary evidence that has been presented in support of travelling workshops. None of it, however, is fully convincing. The most frequently mentioned passage is that of Pliny who, referring to Varro, tells about Vulca from Veii who carried out the acroteria of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitolium in Rome. See Plin. N.H. XXXV, 45, 157. The same source also mentions Eucheir, Diopos and Eugrammos who followed Demaratos in exile from Corinth and settled at Tarquinia where they introduced the art of modelling in clay. See Plin. N.H. XXXV, 45, 157. Still according to Pliny, Gorgasos and Damophilos came from Sicily to Rome to decorate the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera in 493 B.C., the first decoration that did not have an Etruscan style. See Plin. N. H. XXXV, 45, 154.

20. In the Eastern Mediterranean, maker's marks on moulds are more common than in Central Italy. However, since they appear more frequently on casts, they would hardly express a higher value of the moulds compared to the casts.

21. Söderlind 1999, 129f.

22. Söderlind 1999, 117.

23. For the definition of a votive deposit, see Hackens 1963, 74; Pfiffig 1975, 85-88; Bonghi Jovino 1976, 6; Edlund 1988, 135; Fenelli 1991, 487; Damgaard Andersen 1998, Vol. 1, 147-153.

24. For profile heads, see Potter 1989, 49. For masks, see Comella & Stephani 1990, 103, note 351.

25. For a few observed cases, see Steingraber 1980, 235, note 207; Comella 1982, 51, note 176bis.

26. For a few cases, see Blagg 1985, 44.

27. For a recent example, see Bouma 1996.

28. For female heads being given in association with marriage, see Söderlind 1997, 22.

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THE EURO-MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY CAMP AT TELL ABU AL-KHARAZ, JORDAN, ADMINISTERED BY THE MEDELHAVSMUSEET

Sanne Houby-Nielsen

Director

Peter M. Fischer

Field Director

Introduction

During two weeks in the spring 2001, March 24-April 6, 28 students and young archaeologists from 15 different European and Mediterranean countries participated in one common project: the continued excavation of one the most important archaeological sites in the Jordan Valley, namely Tell Abu al-Kharaz. The results of the previous Swedish excavations, which lasted between 1989 and 1999 and were directed by Peter M. Fischer, have considerably increased our knowledge of two of the most crucial periods in the history of the Middle East: the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. The Bronze Age lasted roughly from 3500 to 1200 B.C., and the Iron Age approximately from 1200 to 550 B.C. The complex nature of finds from the earlier excavations has shown that the events, which are described in the Old Testament of the Bible, mainly the Iron Age, are not as easily identified in archaeological remains as many scholars would like them to be. The results of these thorough excavations demonstrated repeatedly that many arguments in today's, often disastrous, dispute on national borderlines in the Middle East, which is based on "historical arguments", are far from being substantiated.

Not least for this reason, the site of Tell Abu al-Kharaz seemed particularly challenging for a Euro-Mediterranean archaeology camp, and the result proved to be highly rewarding right from the beginning. All participants took part with great enthusiasm exchanging viewpoints founded on their different and varied areas of experience. Burning sun and temperatures, often exceeding 40 degrees, never managed to kill the spirit, be it hard fieldwork, afternoon lectures in excavation and registration methods, or in preservation and sampling techniques, or be it the daily seminars on pottery readings and evaluations of field-results.

The many different countries represented in the project, probably make it one of the most international archaeological field project ever carried out. But more importantly, the camp showed with all certainty that for the young well-educated generation in Europe and the Mediterranean, excavation is not about national roots but an investigation into a common cross-national cultural background. Or as one student expressed it "...archaeology is not just digging holes with trowels..." After the end of the campaign, no one

doubted that more projects like this can further the dialogue significantly among countries whatever their status.

Therefore, it could hardly be more appropriate that this archaeology camp terminated a series of projects arranged in honour of the late King Hussein. More than any one, the late King Hussein of Jordan demonstrated an outstanding commitment to realise a peaceful development in the region. He promoted the research of the archaeology and history of Jordan, and inspired all activities to expose and to preserve its ancient remains. The epithet for Jordan, "the open museum", which for centuries has attracted archaeologists from all over the world, describes the country perfectly.

A number of institutions and people must be thanked for the completion of the project. We express our deeply felt gratitude to Dr. Fawwaz Al-Kreyshah, director of The Department of Antiquities of Jordan, for immediately welcoming the project and making every possible arrangement for its being completed successfully whether with regard to fieldwork, seminar, press-conference, or excursions to a great number of places. We warmly thank T.R.H.



Excavation staff of Tell Abu al-Kharaz 2001. From left to right.

Front row: Ms. Maria Manuella de Deus, Portugal; Dr. Ra'd Al Yhea, Jordan; Mr. Samir Kheloufi, Algeria; Mr. Muwafaq al Bataineh, Jordan; Mr. Ezzat Mohamed Mahmoud Ramadan, Egypt.

Second Row: Ms. Pinar Cilesiz Ermis, Turkey; Mr. Yousha al A'mri, Jordan; Mr. Romel Ghryeb, Jordan; Ms. Ra'eda Abdalla, Jordan; Ms. Rubina Raja, Denmark; Ms. Hella Suzanne Hollander, Netherlands; Mr. Abu Khalad, Jordan; Ms. Audrey Guichon, France; Mr. Mishref Abdalah, Jordan; Mr. Naef Muhammad, Jordan.

Third Row: Dr. Peter M. Fischer, Sweden; Mr. Adnan Nagrash, Jordan; Ms. Clara Blennow-Nilsson, Sweden; Mr. Christian Frébutte, Belgium; Hikmat Ta'ani, Jordan; Ms. Mouna Hermassi, Tunisia; Mr. Setan Achmad, Jordan; Ms. Halima Naji, Morocco; Mr. Sharki Mahmoud, Jordan; Ms. Maria Bartolich, Sweden; Mr. Mostafa Machmud, Jordan; Mr. Mohamed Belatik, Morocco; Mr. Fabien Isnard, France; Ms. Connie Kelleher, Ireland; Mr. Shirabel Ali, Jordan; Mr. Daniel Swift, UK; Ms. Maria Lowe, Sweden; Mr. Mustafa Okan Cinemre, Turkey; Dr. Sanne Houbby-Nielsen, Sweden. Photo: Craig Mauzy.

Prince Raad Zeid and Princess Majda Raad Zeid for their interest in the project and thank former director of the The National Museums for World Cultures, Thommy Svensson, who suggested the project to the Medelhavsmuseet and contributed financially. Curator Suzanne Unge Sörling at the Medelhavsmuseet administered with never failing energy all travels and practical information, greatly assisted by curator Karen Slej. The Swedish Embassy in Amman and the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at Yarmouk University in Irbid supported the project in countless ways. Foreman Mr. Hikmat Ta'ani,

surveyor Mr. Muwafaq Al-Bataineh from Irbid and many people from Mashare'a and Tabaqat Fahl worked tirelessly for the project. Mr. Rami G. Khoury and Mr. Sufyan Mohammad all Karemh kindly guided during our study visits in the Capital of Amman, the ancient cities of Jerash and Umm Quais. During the whole camp, photographer Craig Mauzy together with the field director, Peter M. Fischer, videofilmed and photodocumented all aspects of the campaign highly professionally assisted by Bruce Hatzler, both from the Americal School of Archaeology at Athens. Their work has resulted in a videofilm now on

display in the Medelhavsmuseet.

Finally but certainly not least, we wish to thank the participants. Due to their stimulating and inspiring discussions on Tell Abu al-Kharaz, our understanding of an important site in our common cultural history has taken a whole new direction. This is indeed promising for future cultural heritage approaches. Let there be more of this kind.

We are indebted to the former Swedish Ambassador Lars Lönnback who originally proposed the project and whose unfailing enthusiasm inspired everybody during the project.

THE EURO-MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY CAMP AT TELL ABU AL-KHARAZ, JORDAN ADMINISTERED BY THE MEDELHAVSMUSEET

Peter M. Fischer
Field Director

Results of excavations.

The topography

Tell Abu al-Kharaz lies in the ancient landscape of Gilead in Transjordan, that is in the north-western part of the modern state of Jordan. The name "Gilead" is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament of the Bible. The extent of the region of Gilead, east of the Jordan River, is, however, not exactly defined. It covers approximately today's north-west Jordan from the Wadi Yarmouk (the Syrian border) in the north to, in the south, the Wadi Mojib (River Arnon) east of the Dead Sea (cf. Ottosson 1969: 9 and map).

The site is located at a strategic point just 4 km east of the River Jordan and above the eastern border of the Jordan Valley north of the point where the perennial stream of the Wadi al-Yabis emerges from the eastern hills into the Jordan Valley. It lies along the north-south ancient trade route which connects the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, just south of the crossing point between this road and the important road which links, among other sites, Beth Shan and Megiddo with the Mediterranean Sea in the Mount Carmel area. The distance between Tell Abu al-Kharaz



Fig. 1. Tell Abu al-Kharaz seen from the north. Hikmat Ta'ani in the foreground.
Photo: Peter M. Fischer.

and the Mediterranean Sea along this north-west/south-east trading route is approximately 80 km.

Approximately 4 km to the north is Tabaqat Fahil which corresponds to the ancient Pella of the Decapolis. Decapolis means the "ten cities" which were founded by Alexander the Great during the latter part of the

4th century B.C. east and south of the Sea of Galilee. Beth Shan, which corresponds to Scythopolis of the Decapolis is approx. 20 km to the north-west, on the western side of the River Jordan. The impressive, isolated mound of Tell Abu al-Kharaz lies about 300 m east-south-east of the smaller hillock of Tell al-Maqbarah. It

rises about 60 m above its surroundings. The elevation of the valley floor, where the main road runs north/south, is approximately 200 m below mean sea level. Irrigation systems ancient as well as modern can be seen everywhere in the fertile surrounding land. Exceptionally good military control of a large area is possible from the summit of Tell Abu al-Kharaz. This area includes the hills around the Biblical sites of Nazareth, Mount Tabor, Beth Shan, Mount Gilboa, the Samarian mountains and a major part of the central and northern Jordan Valley.

The area occupied by the tell is approximately 300 m (north-south) x 400 m (east-west). The Early Bronze Age settlement' (3200-2900 B.C.), which was the largest of all periods, occupied an area of approximately 4 ha, thus covering not only the walled, upper part of the tell but also its slopes and very likely the flat surrounding landscape. The tell is quite easily defended: steep slopes to the west, north and east are natural obstacles to presumptive invaders. On the gently sloping lower part of the south side of the tell, the most vulnerable side, there are a number of terrace-retaining, or also defensive, walls still visible on the surface. The relatively flat summit of the hill is oriented approximately east-west. The "plateau" on the summit measures about 120 m in the east-west and about 90 m in the north-south direction. The upper part of the tell is surrounded by defensive walls of complicated pattern from all the periods found at the site.

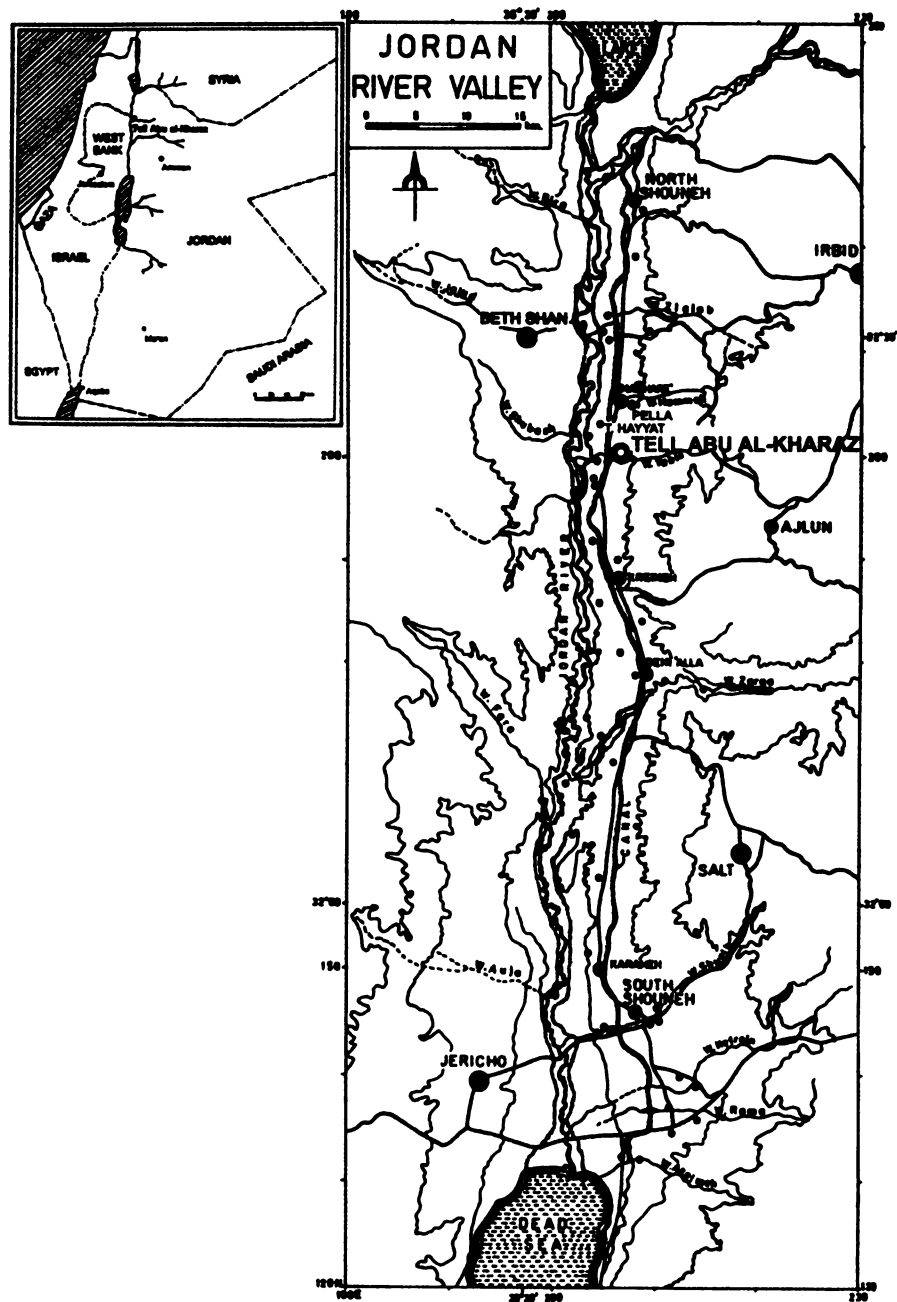


Fig. 2. The location of Tell Abu al-Kharaz.
 Maps: Muwafaq Al-Bataineh.

Tell Abu al-Kharaz: 4000 years of history

It has been a common practise in the past to discuss the Biblical identity of archaeological sites in the "Holy Land" known from surveys or excavations. For example, it has been suggested that Tell Abu al-Kharaz is identical with the Biblical town of Jabesh Gilead and the burial place of Israel's first king, Saul. Jabesh Gilead is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. Amongst other events in connection with King Saul's and King David's battles against the Philistines and Ammonites, which may be placed around 1000 B.C. or even later. The term for the entire area, namely "Palestine", derives originally from the name of the inhabitants of the western parts of this area, the "Philistines" who dwelled there before the arrival of the Israelites: Palestine means "the land of the Philistines".

At the present state of research, the finds from Tell Abu al-Kharaz do not allow any definite answers to the question of the site's historical identity. Rather, the site is interesting for different reasons. The last decade's excavations by The Swedish Jordan Expedition have proved the tell to be occupied continuously from the Chalcolithic period until Islamic times, except for a break of approximately 1300 years from roughly speaking 2900–1650 B.C. Thus the site provides an insight into 4000 years of turbulent Levantine history.¹ The striking absence of material only during a certain period in the Bronze Age – in archaeological terminology equivalent to the transitional Early Bronze Age II/III until the later part of the Middle Bronze Age period³ – is interesting and the excavator has

forwarded several theories: one reason for abandoning the site might simply have been that the inhabitants became tired of rebuilding their houses and other installations time and again after earthquakes, evidence of which can clearly be seen in the exposed cultural layers; difficulty of exploiting the land may be a contributory reason for the temporarily abandonment of the site: the soil may have been impoverished by overexploitation and lack of knowledge of fertilizers; the people might also have been guided by superstitious considerations, that is, an impression that "higher powers" did not approve of their presence in the area and punished them with earthquakes.

Earthquakes and conflagrations have been mentioned as the likely causes of the final destruction of the Early Bronze Age culture at Tell Abu al-Kharaz. Naturally, man-induced causes for conflagrations cannot be ruled out as a factor contributing to the occupational break. The important strategic position of the rich Early Bronze Age site might have aroused the envy of neighbours who conquered the site. An argument against this might be that not a single skeleton has so far been discovered in the settlement,⁴ and that the site was not looted: after removing collapsed roofs and mudbrick superstructures we have exposed numerous intact rooms with household objects as they were left some 5000 years ago, amongst them such unusual finds as the remains of a wooden loom and a reed basket, which was filled with grain and which included a wooden vessel, very likely a measure.⁵ It is at the same time astonishing that – in the case of earthquakes – the owners

of the houses did not return to the site after it burned down in order to dig for remaining and intact valuable objects such as pottery and objects of stone and copper, which we found in considerable quantities.

The character of the settlements changed continuously, being more extensive in some periods rather than in others.⁶ In fact, the excavations have clearly demonstrated that the Early Bronze Age city was by far the most extensive one. Hereafter, the settlement dwindled in size being decisively smaller in the Late Bronze Age and in the Iron Age the site was nothing more than a citadel.

The possible explanations for this development are many. The finds indicate flourishing trade-connections with various regions in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Early Bronze Age as far south as Middle Egypt, for example, while in the Middle and Late Bronze Age the cultural contacts were restricted to the immediately neighbouring cultures such as those in Lebanon and Cisjordan, that is today's Israel, and to some extent with Cyprus. The early part of the Iron Age seems to be characterized of cultural isolation at least as the present find material is concerned. The second part of the Iron Age is the period when the Israelites occupied Cisjordan and parts of Transjordan, that is today's north-western Jordan. The arrival of these tribes resulted in a number of battles with the Philistines who occupied large parts of Cisjordan already before their arrival.⁷ However, none of the destructions which can be seen in the cultural layers of Tell Abu al-Kharaz from this period can clearly be related to any historical

event, for example, the arrival of the Israelites. It is therefore a possibility that the inhabitants of Tell Abu al-Kharaz during the Iron Age were of multi-ethnic origin.

Table 1. The proposed Bronze and Iron Age chronology of Tell Abu al-Kharaz and the synchronization with Palestine, Egypt and Cyprus. Cypriot periods are marked only when finds belonging to these periods are present at the site.

Occupation	Absolute B.C. ⁸	Palestine ⁹	Egypt: Dynasties/Naqada/Kings	Cyprus
Phase I	3200–3100	EB IB, later part	Dynasty O/Naq. IIIB: – Irj-Hor/Ka/Narmer?	
Phase II	3100–2900	EB II	Dyn./Naq. IIIC1-2: Narmer?/Hor-Aha/Djer/Djed/Den/Adjib	
Phase III	2900	EB II–II/III?	1st Dyn. 1(1ate) – 2nd Dyn./Naq. IIID – ?: [Semerkhet]/Qa-a –	
Phase IV/1-2	1650–1550(?)	MB III	15th–17th Dyn.: > 70 kings	MC III late-LC IA2
Phase V	1550(?)–1450	LB IA	18th Dyn.: Ahmose-Tuthmosis III (22 ¹⁰)	
Phase VI	1450–1400	LB IB	18th Dyn.: Tuthmosis III (23) – IV	LC IB late/LC IIA1
Phase VII	after 1400	LB IB/C	18th Dyn.: Amenophis III –	LC IIA-B
Phase VIII	before 1300	LB IC	18th Dyn.: – Haremhab	
N.d. ¹¹	1300–1150	LB II	19th–20th Dyn.: Ramesses I – III ¹²	
N.d.	1175–550	Iron I-II	20th–26th Dyn.	(CG II-III ¹³)

The economy of Tell Abu al-Kharaz¹⁴

The economy of the societies at Tell Abu al-Kharaz relied on agriculture and cattle breeding during all periods. A considerable surplus-production especially of grain allowed a flourishing trade which extended as far away as Egypt (Egyptian Naqada IIIB) or – more close – Cyprus and was most likely carried out by middlemen. This circumstance was clearly proved by the excavations. Thus, charred plant remains from Tell Abu al-Kharaz include several different types of grain such as emmer, einkorn and barley.¹⁵ Large vessels (of the so-called Grain-wash/Band-slip earthenware)¹⁶ and stone silos with storage capacities by far exceeding the needs of a single household, point to a large scale surplus production in the Early Bronze Age. The fact that surplus of grain of this magnitude were stored collectively at one place indicates that grain distribution was controlled by a central administration. The true nature of the administration of the urban centre of Tell Abu al-Kharaz remains of course in the dark. There are, for example, no written sources of which we know today and in which Tell Abu al-Kharaz during the Bronze Age is mentioned; and should the site have been mentioned in any of today's known written sources, then it is very likely not mentioned under its present name. However, as regards the situation of the walled town of Tell Abu al-Kharaz, it is likely that the town was centrally administrated because the construction work of the defence system and cult- and administration-related structures, the water supply system, the organisation of the farming activities including the

supervision and distribution of the crops for immediate use, the storage of the crops for the use during unproductive periods, the handling and trading of the surplus from farming and breeding, the distribution of the grazing land for animals and so on, all these activities need a centralized system of government in terms of efficiency. The government supervised all land which belonged to the domains of Tell Abu al-Kharaz. These include not only the land for farming but also the grazing land. The power of this government may also have extended into grazing areas in the hinterland towards the east and towards the border, where the Transjordanian plateau begins some 30 km to the east. These areas were not absolutely necessary in order to feed the town's animals but they could have been rented to nomadic tribes which had to pay tribute. The heads of the most influential families of Tell Abu al-Kharaz supervised the various parts of these governmental duties. A manager/"king" was necessary to coordinate the various obligations in order to keep the system running smoothly. This administrative head may have been chosen by the other heads of the most influential families. Their choice was most probably based on this specific person's superior skills, strength, richness or the person's kinship-related connection with an important neighbour, for example, Pella. Another possibility is that this person was self-elected because of some of the listed "superior" qualities. In other words, a highly developed, hierarchical community lived at the tell.

With regard to cattle-breeding, osteological remains include caprines

– such as sheep and goats – and cattle.¹⁷ Bones from pigs were also found, but their poor number indicate that pigs were not an important part of the diet. Other animal remains include fallow deer, gazelle, dog, equid, rodent, cat, fox, brown bear, hippo (ivory) and various birds. A small amount of fish remains were also found, deriving very likely from the Jordan River, the Nile, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

The city and its flourishing trade was destroyed several times by conflagrations. This is clearly visible in the substantial catastrophe layers of ash and burned mudbrick which were found in all periods and all over the ancient city. Several destructions are likely to be the result of earthquakes, but of course one should not rule out other natural or man-induced causes, such as enemy attacks. The strategic position of the rich site, which can easily be discerned from the Jordan Valley, provides control of any movements through the Jordan Valley and must surely have aroused envy throughout the ages. None of these destructions can be related directly to any historical event such as the alleged arrival of the Israelites.

The Euro-Mediterranean Archaeology Camp (March-April 2001): new contributions to the history of Tell Abu al-Kharaz

In spite of the fact that the Euro-Mediterranean Archaeology camp only lasted for a little more than two weeks, the excavation contributed with important new knowledge about the history of the site. The area where



Fig. 3. The first day of the excavations (looking south). The EDM totalstation to the right; Samir Kheloufi, (Algeria), in the foreground; Christian Frébutte, (Belgium), in the centre left; Clara Blennow-Nilsson, (Sweden), in the centre right. Photo: Peter M. Fischer.

the 2001 excavation was carried out and which is situated on the summit of the hill, had not previously been excavated. However, surface finds pointed to the presence of Late Roman, Byzantine and Islamic structures. In other words, remains from periods which had not been found in earlier excavations and therefore of great importance for a full understanding of the history of the site. Also, an imposing structure

called the “White Building” – excavated in 1996-97 – and dating to the late Iron Age was assumed to extend into this area providing further valuable information about its function.¹⁸ The selected area of excavation was therefore assumed to be of great archaeological potential and to provide an insight into several thousand years of history for the participants of this field camp.

Islamic infant burials

We were not disappointed as regards our expectations for the selected area. Directly under the surface-soil, in Stratum 1A, three infant burials appeared (Fig. 4).¹⁹ The burials are simple, shallow pit tombs, less than 1.2 m and only approximately 0.5 m deep. The fill of the three pits consists of dry, hard-packed and clay-rich soil. Because of their proximity to the surface, the outlines of the pits were



very difficult to distinguish, and it was a moving feeling to know that for centuries, people had passed over these small tombs.

All three, small skeletons were placed on their right side, in a slightly crouched position like a foetus. Their

heads were turned to the west facing south-south-east, and their feet to the east. In one case,²⁰ the hand had been placed on the left side of the cranium.

According to a study of their teeth, all three children died at the age of 2 or 3.²¹

Fig. 4. Connie Kelleher (Ireland) is excavating infant burial L82. Two of the infants were buried with a necklace which had been placed around their necks (Fig. 5). No other gifts were found. Photo: Peter M. Fischer.



Fig. 5. Necklaces belonging to two infants (L78 above and L87 below. The position of beads is arranged). Photo: Peter M. Fischer.

The necklaces of the infants

The necklace of the infant L78 consists of 18 beads (Fig. 5: upper necklace). The beads were made up by five molluscs of three different species, all of which derive from the Red Sea and not from the Mediterranean.²² Furthermore by three cowries (*Cypraea moneta*), one striped engina (*Engina mendicaria*) and one stromb (*Strombus decorus persicus*). Two beads of a yet unidentified material seem to be carved and resemble closed sacks. One bead was a circular carnelian bead. Finally we have ten beads, all of which very likely of man-made silicates (glass/faience/frit), of different colours. Some are black-mottled, others are yellowish-white and light green. They are mostly cylindrical in shape.

The necklace of the infant L87 consists of 25 beads (Fig. 5: lower necklace). These comprise eight cowries (*Cypraea moneta*) from the Red Sea, six circular carnelian beads and eleven beads of silicates of greenish-white and matt green colours resembling serpentine.²³

The date of the infant burials

With the exception of a few ceramic sherds mainly from post-Iron Age periods, the tombs contained no other diagnostic items. Nevertheless, several characteristics indicate that the burials are Islamic. Firstly, the fact that all three children were oriented towards the West and facing South-southeast which is the bearing towards Mecca. Secondly, the absence of burial gifts is an Islamic custom. The necklaces cannot be regarded as actual grave gifts but must rather be understood as personal belongings of

the infants. Thirdly, some of the few sherds of post-Iron Age date may indeed be Islamic, and it should be remembered that it is customary for Bedouins to bury their members on the summit of tells.

Finally, Islamic surface finds have been discovered during earlier excavations to the north of the summit of the tell²⁴ and during the surface survey in the area of the present excavations.

In conclusion, burial customs and pottery make it likely that the infant burials belong to the Abbasid period, probably from the first half of the 9th century A.D. The burials are touching testimonies of family affection. It seems to be very likely that Tell Abu al-Kharaz was used as a seasonal halt for Bedouins in Islamic times.

Iron Age Buildings Re-used by Late Roman or Byzantine squatters

A large building with several rooms was excavated in stratum 1B. Only the foundation walls of the building were preserved while the superstructure in sun-dried mudbrick had vanished. Due to the proximity of the walls to the surface, many were partly destroyed by erosion and looting. The walls follow the natural course of the tell.²⁵ Two of the walls,²⁶ were built in an earlier phase, equivalent of Stratum 2A, and reused in this phase. The walls are built of larger stones along the outer surfaces and smaller stones in the middle. Remnants of an earlier constructed casemate system are visible in the south-east and may have been reused during this period. A casemate system consists usually of two

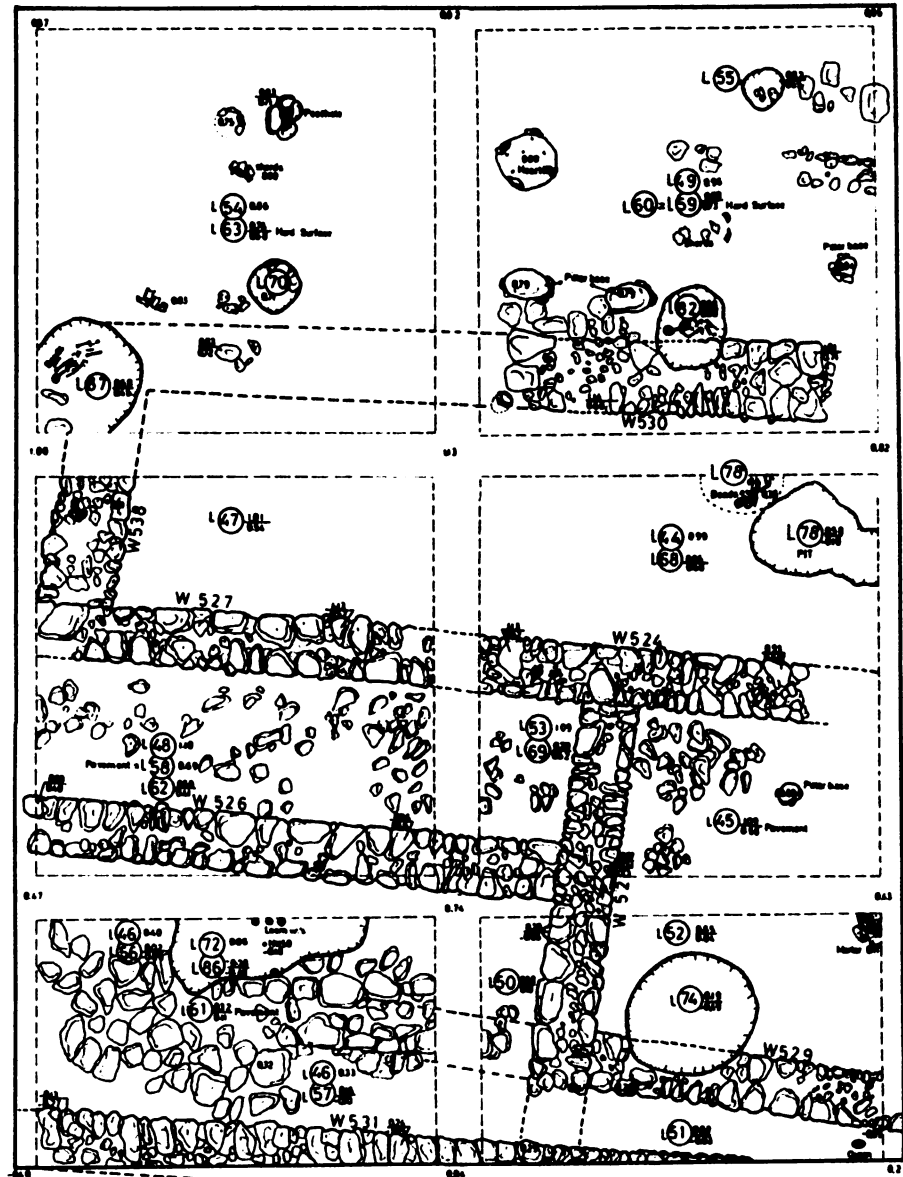


Fig. 6. Plan of Stratum 1A and B.
Plan: Murwafaq Al-Bataineh.

parallel walls which are intersected by transversal walls thus creating a number of small rooms. The floors in three rooms in the south-western part were originally completely covered by a stone-pavement, now much disturbed. The northern part of the excavation area includes a

possible hearth and some pillar bases, the pillars of which must have once have served as roof supports. A number of pits had disturbed the stone constructions and floors.²⁷ In a room to the south, a mortar and a millstone was found lying on a stone foundation.

The associated pottery is a mixture of mainly Late Roman and Byzantine sherds including parts of lamps. Sherds primarily from the second part of the Iron Age were also noted. Other finds consist of buttons, spindle whorls and loom weights of clay.

Evidence for squatters in the Late Roman or Byzantine period

A number of rooms are built against the remainder of a re-used casemate system, which go back to the Late Bronze Age (see below). The southern part is occupied by a roofed building with a number of stone-paved rooms, finds from which point to daily-life activities. For instance, a mortar and a millstone for the preparation of food, and loom weights of sun-dried clay for weaving and typical for the Iron Age were found. A stone base found in situ indicates that an additional pillar in the south-east originally supported the roof of a large room (4 m by 4 m). The northern part of the building complex is very likely a partly roofed courtyard. This interpretation is supported by a number of postholes and stone pillar bases, the function of which was probably to support a roof made of clay mixed with straw.

According to prevailing data, the building was originally constructed within the later part of the Iron Age II period, that is in our case after approximately 800 B.C. and it was destroyed at the end of the Iron Age, that is after around 600 B.C. The destruction debris of the building, which consists of mainly disintegrat-



Fig. 7. The uppermost stone walls are from Stratum 1B (Iron Age II); Wall 524 in centre. The walls below these are from Stratum 2A (Late Bronze Age II) which can be seen in the upper part of the illustration (looking west). Photo: Peter M. Fischer.

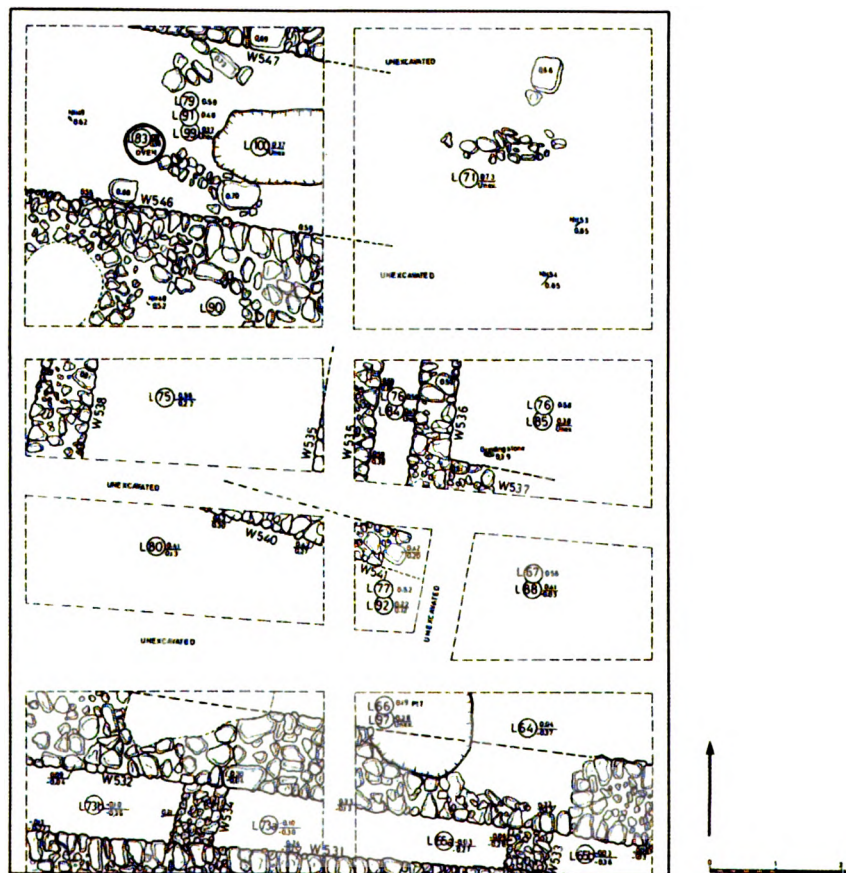


Fig. 8. Plan of Stratum 2A which shows the casemate system in the lower, southern, part. The remains of other buildings to the north are partly disturbed by later occupants. Plan: Murwafaq Al-Bataineh.



Fig. 9. The oven L83 in Stratum 2A (looking south-east). Audrey Guichon (France), excavating; Christian Frébutte (Belgium), assisting. Photo: Peter M. Fischer.

Fig. 10. Stratum 2A. The late bronze Age casemate system (looking east). Photo: Peter M. Fischer.



ed sun-dried mudbrick, partly covered the foundations of the stone walls. Many centuries later, in Late Roman or Early Byzantine period, that is after approximately 100 A.D. squatters observed the then "free-eroded" stone foundations, cleaned the rooms from debris and reused the stone foundations to build their more or less temporary dwellings.

A number of walls was found in stratum 2A which had been partly disturbed by pits and tombs belonging to later periods and described above. The direction of the walls again follow the natural course of the tell and is thus similar to that of the Iron Age walls. The most interesting structure is the narrow casemate system to the south (lower part of Fig.

8).²⁸ It is much more narrow than the one which was excavated in 1995,²⁹ and could hardly have been used for other purposes than for storage or as a dump. The narrow construction of the casemate system is certainly the result of the topography of the tell: a wider system would have decreased the useable building space on the limited area of the plateau on the summit.

In the northern part of the excavation area (Fig. 10), an open space (2.6 m wide) with an oven was found. The oven measures 0.6 m in diameter and is reinforced with sherds.

A number of walls were partly exposed in the central area, the interpretation of which will have to

await future excavations.³⁰

The pottery dates the casemate system to the Late Bronze Age. Even though Iron Age and even Late Roman and Byzantine sherds were found in the upper loci,³¹ Late Bronze Age material was in the majority in the lower loci to the north and the southern part. Also, the lowest loci in the south contained uncontaminated Late Bronze Age material with an increasing portion of Early Bronze Age sherds.

The Late Bronze Age plain pottery include rounded bowls with concave disk bases, kraters and cooking pots. Decorated vessels are rare. One is a jug with brown bands on rim and neck.

The interpretation and more

accurate dating of the other walls and rooms has to await the results of future excavations. However, the latest part of the Late Bronze Age does not seem to be represented in the new material from this area. The latest part of the Late Bronze Age is also missing in other, earlier, excavated areas. Additional excavations are necessary to learn more about the reason for a possible occupational lacuna.

Room with imports from Cyprus

There is an incompletely exposed room to the south.³³ The room is roughly 4 m wide and was probably entered from the north-east.

The room contained a number of interesting vessels one of which is an import from Cyprus found in Stratum 2B. This vessel was most likely a juglet, and it is made of the so-called Base-ring I or II Ware which is a rare find at Tell Abu al-Kharaz. Another likewise imported vessel is a skilfully executed large krater with an attached false and shallow spout of a type which was used to insert into a smaller vessel. It is a representative of the "Chocolate-on-White Ware" which received its name because of the characteristic chocolate-brown decoration on a white background. The thick white slip is burnished but not the brown decoration. The decoration on the outside is executed in a chocolate-brown colour as a metope pattern with alternating six vertical lines and empty spaces. This pattern is also reflected in the decoration inside the rim, which shows four vertical lines and empty spaces. It is preliminarily ascribed to the Choco-



Fig. 11. Plan of Stratum 2B showing incompletely exposed rooms to the south³² and north-west. Plan: Murvafaq Al-Bataineh.

Fig. 12 Stratum 2B with pottery in situ. Wall 531 of Stratum 2A to the right (looking east). Photo: Peter M. Fischer.



late-on-White II group. Cooking pots and plain vases were also found, often in connection with monochrome vases or vases with bichrome (red/brown and black) decoration. Among the plain vessels, the find of complete examples of a shallow type of lamp, a one-handled jug with a slightly concave disk base and a two-handled storage jar with a rounded base should be mentioned. Residual Early Bronze Age sherds were also found.

Too little is exposed of Stratum 2B to allow any detailed interpretation. It is, however, likely that the area is not just domestic but may instead be of more significance considering the position on the summit of the tell and the exquisite Chocolate-on-White krater together with the Cypriote import. The building may be part of a palace and/or an administrative complex. A date within the first part of the Late Bronze Age is supported by the Chocolate-on-White vessel³⁴ and at least not contradicted by the Base-ring vessel.

Conclusion

It was natural to choose the plateau on the summit of Tell Abu al-Kharaz for excavation, since this area had not been investigated earlier. Unexpectedly, architectural remains from periods post-dating the Iron Age were not made. Instead, the finds from Stratum 1 indicate that the site was given up already in the Late Iron Age not to be occupied again for many centuries. Then, during the first millennium A.D. seasonal visitors settled at Tell Abu al-Kharaz who probably lived in tents and reused what were now ruins from the ancient buildings of the late Iron Age (700–550 B.C.).

Our assumption that the so-called “White Building” on the plateau itself³⁵ is part of a much larger building complex, belonging to the Iron Age, was strengthened. However, further excavation is needed to ascertain its function and precise date. The finds from this season are mainly from the later part of the Iron Age, while some stray finds are of early Iron Age origin.

The discovery of intact Late Bronze Age structures came as a surprise, since in previous seasons of excavation on the summit of the site Late Bronze Age and earlier structures were found to be destroyed as their stones had been reused for the construction of the “White Building”.³⁶ It is not unlikely that we have exposed parts of an important, administrative building considering its position on the summit of the tell and important finds which include a Cypriote import.

Appendix

The area of the excavations in 2001

It was decided to open six trenches in the south-eastern part of Area 10 to the south-east of the “White Building”.³⁷ The north-western corner of the new area of excavation, which corresponds to the north-western corner of Trench XLIVA, has the coordinates E 206 226.54 N 200 608.07 according to the Palestine Grid Co-

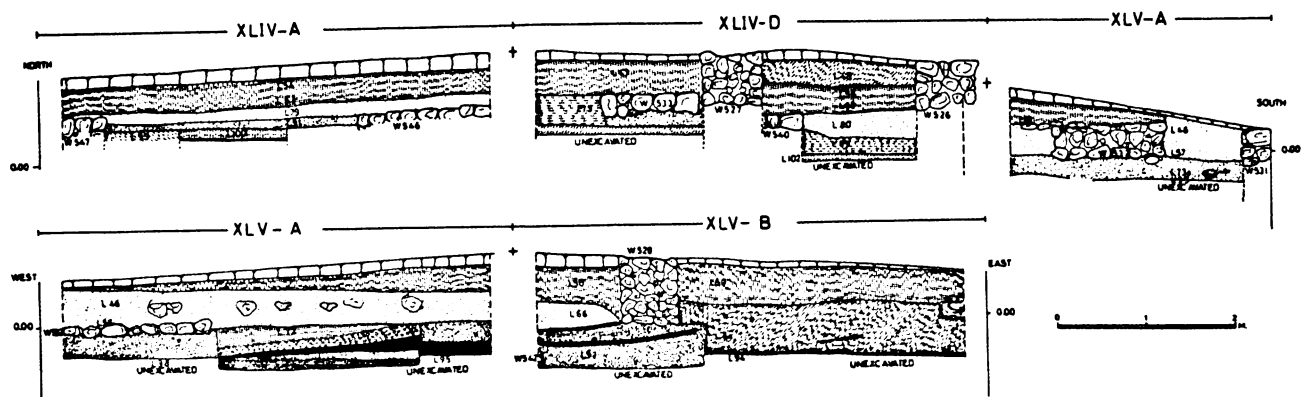


Fig. 13. The sections of the excavated area from 2001: the north-south section (upper), the west-east section (lower). Section: Murwafaq Al-Bataineh.

ordinate system. The new excavations lie in Grids ZZ32 and ZZ33 according to the site's own grid system (Fischer 1991).

The new-opened area of excavation measures 13 m (north-south) x 10 m (west-east). It was divided into six trenches separated by 0.5 m wide walls: Trenches XLVA-D, each 4.5 m x 4.5 m in size, and XLVA and B, each 4.5 m x 2.8 m in size. The area, the northern part of which is quite flat in the west-east direction, slopes only approximately 0.5 m towards south. The Trenches XLVA and B lie on the edge between the summit plateau and the point where the southern slope begins.

The organization of the excavations, the recording and the processing systems

The recording system followed the routines of the earlier seasons at the site: all measurements were taken by the expeditions surveyor with an EDM total station, i.e. the measurements of all loci, finds and walls were stored in the instrument and later transformed to the plans and sections. Each trench received a diary for the standardized documentation of the observations during the field work and for additional recordings of the EDM measurements. The diary was also used for the recording of the classified sherds from each locus.

Colluvial soil³⁸ (Compare Fig. 3)

The colluvial soil is less than 0.2 m deep. It is quite loose, dry and encompasses roots and small stones.

Parts of stone walls which belong to Stratum 1 are visible on the surface. These are: Walls 524/527, 526, 528, 529, 530 and 531. The pottery is a mixture of most of the periods found at Tell Abu al-Kharaz: the Islamic, Byzantine, Roman periods are best represented, however there are sherds from the late Iron Age, the Late Bronze Age and the Early Bronze Age.

Stratum 1A (Figs. 4-6)

Stratum 1 was divided into 1A and 1B. The non-architectural features, which belong to S1A, were dug into S1B which is the most recent occupational phase with architecture. A general destructive activity is characteristic of S1A and include the use of the stones of earlier walls from S1B and S2 as a supply for building material which was found scattered all over the area of excavation. The soil of this stratum is in general dry, quite hard and clay-rich and encompasses roots, small stones together larger stones which derive from the looted architecture of earlier periods, and many sherds.

Stratum 1B (Figs. 6, 7)

This stratum is the most recent to contain architecture. Only the stone foundations of walls which are in general 0.6 m to 0.8 m wide, and which in some spots are preserved at a height of 0.6 m, and some traces of the former sun-dried mudbrick superstructures of a building with a number of rooms were found. Erosion and looting have destroyed parts of some walls because of the walls' proximity to the surface. The soil of this stratum is quite dry, hard and

clay-rich and encompasses small stones together larger stones which derive from the looted architecture of earlier periods, and many sherds.

Stratum 2A (Figs. 8-10)

The subdivision of Stratum 2 into A and B – and possibly further future subdivisions during the progress of the excavations – was done in accordance with the labelling system which was used since 1995 at the site. Stratum 2 is consistent with the Late Bronze Age occupation and its sub-phases, whereas Stratum 1 with subdivisions refers to the Iron Age and post-Iron Age periods. The most recent Late Bronze Age occupation, Stratum 2A, is incompletely excavated and Stratum 2B could be reached only in the southernmost part of the area in Trenches XLVA and B. Stratum 2 A is to some extent affected by occupants of later periods: reuse, pits and tombs destroyed a number of walls and features. The soil of this stratum is more humid than before, quite hard and clay-rich and encompasses small stones and many sherds.

The open space described above is limited by W547 to the north and W546 to the south. W546 seems to be more than 2 m wide, however, the limited area of excavation does not allow any definite conclusion: it was once may be more narrow, later on destroyed and its stones spread out over a larger area. W546 is disturbed by one of the Islamic tombs (L87) and L90, which is a pit as a result of the taking of building material or the construction of an additional tomb, which maybe never went to use or was looted.

Stratum 2B (Figs. 11, 12)

Very little is exposed of this phase and only in the southern part of the area of excavation. The soil of this stratum is more humid than before, quite hard and clay-rich and encompasses small stones, many sherds but also complete shapes.

NOTES

1. This corresponds to Phases I-III of occupation.
2. The term "Levant" includes south-eastern Turkey, western Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine and Jordan.
3. The Middle Bronze Age occupation corresponds to Phases IV/1-2 and that of the Late Bronze Age to Phases V-VIII.
4. As regards the earthquake theory and the absence of skeletons in the settlement: minor earthquakes might have preceded the critical earthquake and the alerted people might have left their homes before they were destroyed.
5. The long occupational lacuna and the limited effect of the squatters of Phase III created this fortunate archaeological situation; primarily because of the protection of the Early Bronze Age remains by the detritus which accumulated during the long break, and secondly because of the protection of the major Early Bronze Age II settlement (Phase II) by a thick destruction layer due to the general catastrophe. The debris from this catastrophe, collapsed roofs and ash, almost sealed the entire settlement and left its architecture protected and the interiors of domestic buildings in situ. The subsequent squatter occupations created only very limited disturbances. This favourable situation resulted in a number of closed and undisturbed contexts giving a snapshot of the society immediately before the catastrophe.
6. Vast material derives from Early Bronze Age I-II, Middle Bronze Age III - Late Bronze Age Ic, and in the Iron Age I-II.
7. The biblical story about David (an Israelite) and Goliath (a Philistine) describes one of these battles.
8. All dates are approximate and mainly based on radiocarbon dates.
9. The new terminology for the Middle and Late Bronze Age of Palestine is from Fischer in press.
10. Numerals with brackets refer to regnal years.
11. The phasing of the occupational sequence at Tell Abu al-Kharaz after Phase VIII i.e. after the Late Bronze Age IC, which is equal with the periods covering the 13th century and onwards, has not yet been performed. Consequently this also includes the Iron Age.
12. Only the early regnal years of Rameses III, are included here.
13. Cypro-Geometric II-III is shown in brackets because of the uncertainty of the origin of the Black-on-Red Ware from Tell Abu al-Kharaz. A Phoenician origin is likely (cf. de Crée 1991). However, we have to await the results of the forthcoming petrographic analysis of Black-on-Red Ware from the site.
14. Cf. Fischer in press.
15. Fischer 1997b.
16. Fischer 2000.
17. Fischer 1997b
18. Fischer 1997a; 1998
19. Locus 78' in TXLIVC, L82 in TX-LIVB and L87 in TXLIVA. The people who dug the tomb L82 destroyed a part of W530. The construction of L87 destroyed the possible continuations of W530 in S1A; it damaged also W538 in S1A/B and W546 in S2A.
20. L78.
21. This is apparent from the fully developed deciduous teeth, and the almost fully developed crowns and the not developed roots of the first permanent molars.
22. Personal communication D. Reese.
23. Analyses of the beads by various scientific methods is planned. These will include X-ray Diffractometry, UV Fluorescence with different UV-wave lengths and Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (cf. Fischer, Bichler and Hammer in press).
24. Trench XIX; Fischer 1995: 100-101; Walmsley 1995: 107.
25. The walls run east-west and north-south respectively with a slight deviation towards north and east respectively. The following walls belong to this stratum (as seen from the north): W530, 538, 527 = 524, 528, 526, 529 and 531.
26. W 538 and 531
27. Pits L70 and L55, and the deep pits L78, 74, 72/86.
28. The casemate is formed by the east-west running wall W531, the width of which could not yet be defined, to the south and W532, which is 1.2 m wide, and lies 0.6 m to 1 m to the north and approximately parallel to the former. The latter wall is disturbed by a number of pits from the Iron Age and later periods. The perpendicular walls of the casemate system are W533 and 534
29. In area 1 (Fischer 1997a: 133, Fig. 4)
30. W535-537, 538 and 540 = 541.
31. An Iron Age I cooking pot should be mentioned in L79.

32. The room is bordered by the approximately 0.6 m wide walls W₅₄₂, 543 and 545 and was found in S2B.

33. The room is bordered by the approximately 0.6 m wide walls W₅₄₂, 543 and 545 and was found in S2B.

34. Fischer 1999: 18, Table 2

35. This building was excavated during two previous seasons

36. It is evident that there should have been architecture from these earlier periods because they are well documented from the slopes below the summit especially in Area 1 and 2.

37. The "White Building" includes the site's fixpoint ± 0.0 m which in fact lies 116 m below mean sea level. The coordinates of the fixpoint are E 206196.54 and N 200 623.07 according to the Palestine Grid Co-ordinate system. The Jordan Valley floor where Tell Abu al-Kharaz is situated lies 250 m below mean sea level.

38. See also the sections in Fig. 13.

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WHO OWNS THE PAST? THE CASE OF THE PARTHENON MARBLES

A seminar and public debate at the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, May 25, 2003

Sanne Houby-Nielsen
Director

Background

In July 1801, the British ambassador in Constantinople, the seventh Earl of Elgin, instructed his men in Athens – at that time under Ottoman rule – to start a systematic removal from the Parthenon of its sculptural adornment. The sculptures which are of outstanding historic, artistic and cultural significance, were originally intended to decorate Lord Elgin's private estate in England. Financial reasons, however, led him to offer them for sale to the British government. After debating the issue, Parliament voted to buy the sculptures, which in 1816 were put in the care of the Trustees of the newly established British Museum.

Complaining that the Parthenon sculptures had been removed while Athens was under Turkish rule, Greek claims for repatriation began already in 1898, and in 1983 the Greek government issued the first official request for the return of the marbles. Since then, this request has gained increasing international support in organizations such as UNESCO and ICOM as well as from the public in general.

The issue, however, is not a simple one. The British Museum

regards the Parthenon sculptures (most commonly known as the "Elgin marbles") as part of British cultural heritage. Since 1817 they have been prominently displayed by the Museum where they have influenced generation after generations of artists, poets, architects and scholars. Also the mission of the British Museum has always been to exhibit world civilizations.

Moreover, many museums in the Western world, in Europe, in the US and in Australia housing collections from ancient Mediterranean civilizations, fear a "snowball effect" if the "Elgin marbles" are returned, causing disruptions to the traditional museum institutions.

Therefore, once raised, the issue of the "Elgin Marbles", no matter how it develops, is bound to affect all museums with foreign collections.

On the whole, the case of the Parthenon sculptures in the British Museum is intimately connected to the current international debate on the future role of museums and cultural heritage organizations, many of which came into existence more than hundred years ago. And questions such as how these institutions can stay in keeping with modern

ethics surrounding cultural heritage and even be ahead of cultural-political developments in a continuously changing world, would naturally arise.

On this background, the Greek claims for repatriation of the "Elgin marbles" is of considerable interest for the *Medelhavsmuseet*, and to the Swedish public as well. Sweden signed the Unesco convention in 2002.

We emphasize the importance of a seminar and a debate which views the Greek claims for repatriation of the Elgin marbles from all sides. The debate should provide the audience with a deepened insight into the highly complex character of the issue both historically, philosophically, morally and ethically. In addition to scholars and others concerned with the fate of the Elgin marbles, we also welcome the opinion of museum people who are more directly affected by the issue.

[From the invitation to the seminar]



The Parthenon temple from the north-west. Photo: Ove Kaneberg

WHO OWNS THE PARTHENON?

Mary Beard

Professor of Classics at Cambridge

I think I can be guaranteed to annoy a good number of people in this room by saying that, in my view, many if not most of the arguments for returning the Elgin Marbles to Athens are extremely weak ones. I will annoy most of the rest of the people, I imagine, when I say that many of the arguments in favour of keeping them are pretty bad too, if not ethnocentric and sometimes downright offensive. I have not come here to be popular or partisan, but to try to stand a little bit apart from the fray and think about the nature of the argument over the Elgin Marbles – about what it is *about*. There is no doubt that there are important issues at stake here. The argument has gone on for two hundred years or so, eloquently and sometimes with an enormous degree of passion, yet without any agreed solution. My hunch is that what fires this debate is something more complicated than the simple location of the Elgin Marbles or the criminality of Lord Elgin. It is a debate driven by crucial issues of cultural property and of cultural ownership, issues of our investment in the past and questions about our own place in the whole history of cultural ownership – issues that are not neatly soluble,

issues to which there is no obvious right answer. This is of course why they haven't been solved: the reason that arguments last a long time is usually that they are *not* easily resolvable.

I hope that those people who, unlike me, do have a strong position on one side or other of the debate will think it worth while spending 15 minutes or so thinking about the problems from a different perspective. Imagine, if you like, that we're anthropologists from Mars, or cultural historians of the twenty-third century, how we would make sense of the passions this issue raises, given all the other things we might choose to campaign about. Why are the issues raised by the Elgin Marbles so tricky, so elusive, so enticingly seductive? To put it in other terms, why won't the Parthenon and its controversies go away?

Let me start by stating the obvious. The Parthenon is a monument that has undergone a wide diaspora. The Elgin Marbles in the British Museum are the best known representatives of this diaspora, but by no means the only ones. There are significant fragments in the Louvre, and smaller pieces across the muse-

ums of Western Europe – a fragment in Palermo (which is being loaned to Athens), but also bits in Copenhagen, Würzburg, Rome, Heidelberg, Vienna, Munich and Strasbourg. They mostly left Greece at around the same time as the Elgin Marbles, not on commissioned boats but in the capacious eighteenth-century pockets of visitors to the Acropolis. Interestingly, not all the fragments of the Parthenon in England come via Lord Elgin. One of the most bizarre finds of Parthenon sculpture came in 1902 in an English country house garden – when gardeners digging up a rockery unearthed a part of the frieze, which had presumably been brought back by some English traveller and later thrown on to the rockery by some ignorant descendant in a bout of spring cleaning. It is also the case that not all pieces of sculpture in Europe claimed or once believed to come from the building really did. One of Elgin's major critics in the early nineteenth century, the Cambridge academic Edward Daniel Clarke, was not above buying from the Ottoman garrison commandant (or *disdar*) a nice piece of Parthenon metope, which he had managed to get out of Elgin's storerooms ... a piece of



*Fig. 1. The earliest known photograph of the Parthenon, taken in 1839.
In the centre of the ruin the small Turkish mosque still stands. Note that now just two figures
remain, just visible, in the west pediment, the so-called 'Hadrian and Sabina'.
P.G. Joly de Lotbinière, the Parthenon from the north-west. Aquatint, after daguerreotype, 1839.*

Parthenon metope, or so he thought. The sculpture ended up proudly in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, but it has long been well recognised to be a part of the second century AD Roman decoration of the theatre of Dionysos.

Nor is it just sculpture and architectural elements that have been involved in this diaspora. The British Museum owns a nice bag of tesserae that were originally from the mosaic that decorated the apse of the Parthenon during its medieval life as a church and a mosque. Most intriguing of all, there is (as I'm sure you know) a precious relic of the Parthenon in Uppsala library. It was picked up in 1687 by Anna Åkerhielm, a lady in waiting to Countess Königsmark, wife of the man instrumental in blowing up the building in that year (and killing about 300 Turkish women and children in the process – a death toll we usually forget in our concern about the monument). Åkerhielm was walking round the Acropolis a few days after the destruction and picked up a souvenir. But it wasn't sculpture, it was a precious Arabic manuscript that had been part of the library of the Parthenon in its period as a mosque. She gave it to her brother who gave it to Uppsala. I stress these other (minor) incidents to show you just how complicated this diaspora of the Parthenon is; it is not only a question of Lord Elgin's depredations.

There are two (at least two) perfectly legitimate reactions to this state of affairs. One is to regret it and to attempt to undo it; it is to privilege the *wholeness* of the monument and its place in Athens and to advocate the return and restoration of its

historically separated constituent parts (does that also mean Anna Åkerhielm's manuscript, I wonder?). It is at the same time to claim that the "natural" place for the sculpture is in Athens, and so obviously it is to their "natural" home that they should go back. The other reaction is to respect that very diaspora as now an integral part of the history of the monument and to attempt to re-symbolize the monument as, indeed, a masterpiece that is literally *shared* internationally – in the context, if you like, of the modern international museum movement. It is to stress that monuments have complex histories that make them what they are and that cannot be undone. Each of these positions seems to me to be perfectly logically consistent. The problems become acute when you think of what criteria you can use to choose between them. And suggested criteria themselves raise yet further tricky issues. Can a mutilated monument itself make a claim for its own re-constitution? (Of course not; only we can give it a voice.) How do you decide where a monument belongs? Does a cultural object have a "natural" home?

Let me say on this point that I think the firman, the permission document apparently granted to Elgin by the Ottoman authorities in Constantinople, is a red herring. If we had the original copy (we have only an Italian translation), not only would we continue to argue whether Elgin obtained by unfair means, but we would be confronted with the question of interpretation – I don't just mean our interpretation of its terms, but the legitimate or illegitimate interpretation of its terms by the men

on the ground at the time. It seems to me that the firman is a fascinating academic case for a particular brand of historical international lawyer, but is so clouded by uncertainties – who, for example, are the legitimate heirs to the parties of the agreement? – that it gets us nowhere.

Much more to the point is whether, firman or not, we regard what Elgin did as reprehensible *and* if we do, whether we regard it as one of those reprehensible historical actions that is our business to put right or to unpick. Let us for the moment assume that we disapprove of Elgin's action, whatever his motives (there is of course a case to be made in favour of Elgin, but I don't intend to make it here). Should we then return what he took? This is where we come up against the problem of our investment, control over and responsibility for the historical past. Let me give you two extreme cases. Suppose the Parthenon Marbles had been removed in the course of the Second World War, there is I think little doubt that there would be a general will but also (however inadequate) international mechanisms for their return. At the other end of the spectrum, imagine that the Parthenon Marbles had been removed by the Roman emperor Augustus to decorate his new forum in the last decades of the first century B.C.; we would not now be suggesting their return to Greece, but attempting to understand their complicated history as part of mixed Graeco-Roman world. The question is where on that spectrum Elgin's action lies. Many of us have a *parti pris*, a prejudice about what the answer is; we can *assert* an answer in other words, but I see no good

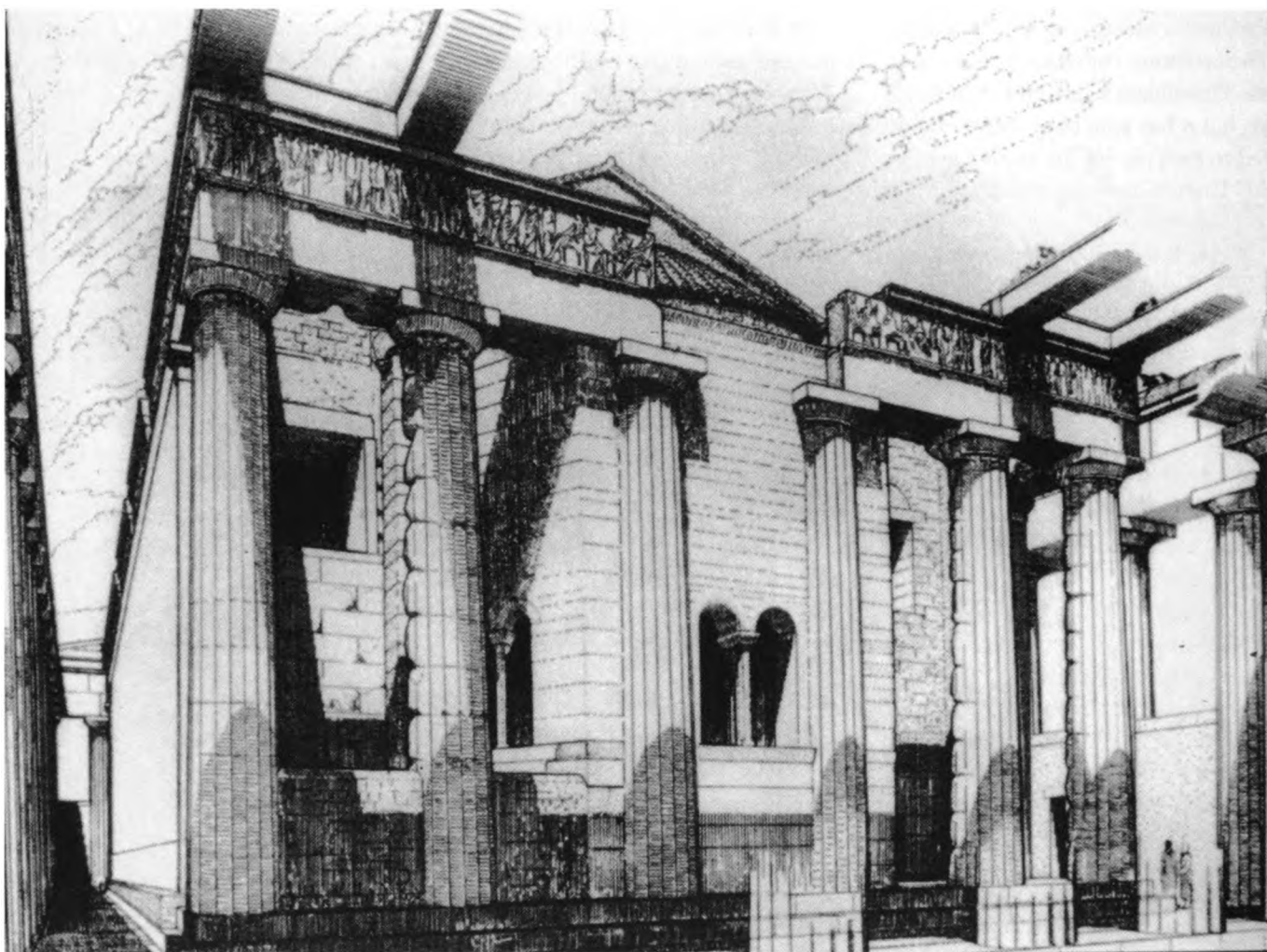


Fig. 2. The Christian church of Our Lady of Athens neatly adapted and reorientated the classical temple. What had been the main eastern entrance of the Parthenon is now the Christian sanctuary with its distinctive apse (shown here after its twelfth-century enlargement). The sculpted frieze survives, except for the central slab; the outer colonnade of the temple act as a screening wall around the church. M.Korres, reconstruction drawing of the east end of the church of Our Lady of Athens (2nd phase, 12th century) (reproduced with permission).

criteria for reaching general agreement. The Elgin Marbles are no different from other monuments in this respect: Do we want the Bayeux tapestry repatriated to England? (I think not). What about Napoleon's depredations from Italian churches? (No again, I think.) In terms of architectural "wholeness", what about the European church facades and deracinated rooms in the great museums of the USA? (Again, no.) But Schliemann's gold and Benin bronzes would, in their different ways, be trickier issues. And what of the Iraqi antiquities in the British Museum? Do we now feel gratitude to that nineteenth-century archaeologist-plunderer Sir Austen Henry Layard for preserving so many prime examples of what has disappeared in Baghdad? Or do we see what has happened in Iraq over the last few weeks as all the more reason for sending it back? One underlying problem here is the question of at what point the history of a monument is judged itself worthy of preservation. (The current restoration of the Parthenon is the first restoration to recognize its long phase as a Christian church, but will not I think represent its life as a mosque.)

Another underlying problem here is the sheer physicality of any *monument* of world culture. Compare for a moment the Parthenon with Mozart or Shakespeare. Both composer and playwright can belong to everyone. They may have special connections with Vienna or Stratford upon Avon, but they become *ours* each time we read or perform what they wrote. No one has solved the question of how a monument can be shared. How can the Parthenon

belong to us all, as we want it to do, as a symbol of what we have invested in ancient Greece, and at the same time be "Greek"? What are the practical implications of judging a monument to be an "international" monument? We haven't answered those questions because, I think, they are unanswerable. There is no right answer or moral high ground here. It is self-evident neither that it belongs in some original form in Athens or scattered among the museums of Europe.

To finish though, I want to turn back a bit to history – and to ask why it is that the Parthenon has come to count as such a prime monument of both Greek and western culture; why it is that the removal of the Elgin Marbles (rather than the Aegina pediments in Munich, or the Bassae sculpture in the British Museum) has become the classic symbol of depredation. Sure it was a famous building in antiquity, but as far as we can see not as famous as it is for us... at least to judge from the general reticence (if not silence) about it on the part of ancient writers. And why, if it has come to take such a highly charged symbolic role in the west, has it come to symbolize the noblest traditions of democracy and civilized culture, rather than slavery and imperialism which had an equal, if not greater role in its construction)? Obviously these are huge questions and I can only scratch the surface here. But I do want to stress the historical contingency of our fixation on the Parthenon. In other circumstances we might have chosen to invest our cultural energies in another building – Greek temple or not.

A key figure in this, at least for

British preoccupations with the Parthenon, is Lord Byron and his powerfully witty, nasty and widely circulated attacks on Elgin and his actions on the Acropolis. What his motives were for these attacks, we do not know. He never met Elgin and it may have been an issue of the purest high principle (though, with Byron, one kind of doubts it). He was certainly well integrated, and on friendly terms, with many of those who were busy taking antiquities from Greece at the start of the nineteenth century. In fact, for all his apparent disapproval of Elgin's actions, he actually hitched a lift out of Athens on the boat carrying the last consignment of the marble and half way across the Saronic Gulf entertained on board the party of archaeologists who were on their way to remove the sculptures from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (I tell you this because I want to make it clear just how difficult and misleading it is to impose our own view of the issues and whose "side" everyone was on back into the very differently configured world of the early nineteenth century). But be that as it may, Byron's poetry (and his subsequent status as hero of the Greek liberation) put Elgin's actions on to a wider cultural agenda than any complaints by E.D. Clarke and others would have managed to do. And the continuing popularity of his verse – and his bad boy charisma – has played a large part in keeping Elgin on that agenda. Byron in a sense told us how to respond to the Parthenon: weep. And so we have.

Also crucial is the role of the Bavarian monarchy established, by collusion of the then great powers, as

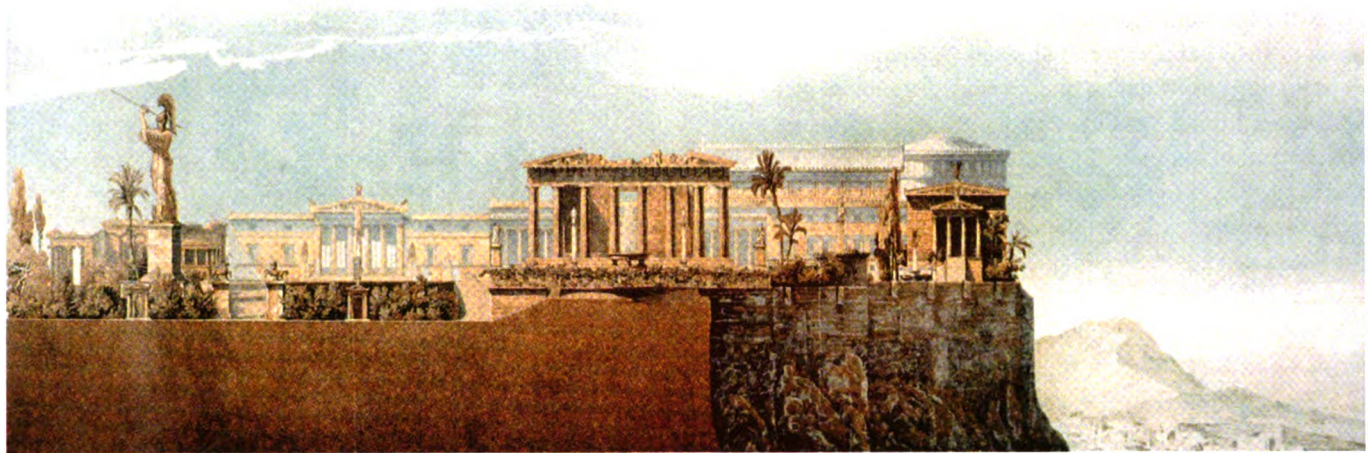


Fig. 3. Schinkel's proposal for a palace for king Otto on the Acropolis, 1834; general view from the west.

rulers of Greece after the extremely nasty (on both sides) War of Independence in the 1830s. Young king Otto was just a teenager; but his advisers it seemed (including the neo-classical architect Leo von Klenze) were considerably exercised by the need to find symbols around which to build the new nation of – Ottoman-free – Greece. Rigorously and romantically trained in all the traditions of Bavarian Hellenism, they opted predictably enough for a huge symbolic investment in Athens' classical past. When once they had shelved the plan for siting the new Royal Palace on the Acropolis (which would have had the uncanny effect of turning the Parthenon into a giant garden ornament), they embarked on the process of turning the Parthenon and its surrounding into a symbolic and archaeological site. An extraordinary celebration took place on the Acropolis: bands played, girls

dressed in white "ancient Greek" dress waved laurels, Klenze compared the rise of the new Greece to the great days of Themistocles and Pericles in the fifth century and Otto tapped a column to inaugurate the archaeological life of the Acropolis. At that point began the ruthless removal from the site of all that was not attributable to the great days of fifth-century Greece – the Turkish village, the mosque, the remains of the Renaissance palazzo, anything that looked remotely Roman. The hill was scraped down to the brutal bedrock that we now see to become a symbol of Greek nationhood. And it was in those self-serving days of the Bavarian monarchy that there also began that general western investment in the site as the symbol of what we think we owe to classical Greece. The irony was that by the time this happened the Elgin Marbles had been in England for more than three decades.

So what, I finally reflect, would my anthropologist from the planet Mars make of all this. He (or she) would I think be quite puzzled. But he would find it hard to resist two logical, if slightly wicked, conclusions. First, that the fame of the monument is paradoxically dependent on its dismemberment (it would not have been half so famous if Elgin and the others had not, for better or worse, given it the history that it now has). Second, that it is not so much the Elgin Marbles and their place on the Parthenon that are the symbols of Greece and our relationship with the traditions of the classical world, but the loss or the lack of them. Our investment in the classical world (and our distance from it) is powerfully symbolized by the *absence* of the marbles and our desire (in the psychoanalytical as well as popular sense) for its re-creation.

WHO OWNS THE PAST? THE CASE OF THE PARTHENON MARBLES

Hans Henrik Brummer
Former Director General Nationalmuseum

The question of returning the Parthenon Marbles to their original location has a long history, which has by no means lost its momentum in our time. This gathering here in Stockholm, with distinguished guests from the United Kingdom, is yet another sign of its urgency. The background is by now familiar. Nevertheless, it might be appropriate to make a recapitulation in this introduction to our seminar.

It is well known to all that the ancient temple on the Acropolis occupies a central position in the history of art. But that is not enough – it has become a symbol of Western democratic ideals. Two and a half thousand eventful years have certainly added to its venerability. Throughout its long existence the Parthenon has been re-presented, reinvented and reinterpreted.

The Parthenon, originally erected to celebrate the civic identity of the city of Athens, survived the changes during the Panhellenic and Roman supremacy. Before the end of the sixth century it was converted into a Greek Orthodox Church dedicated first to the Holy Wisdom and later to “Our Lady of Athens” in keeping with the distant memory of the

Athenian Goddess. Damage was done – the east pediment was torn down and its sculptures destroyed. An apse was constructed at the east end, in conjunction with which the whole of the middle section of the east pediment was removed, entailing the destruction of a dozen statues in all. Part of the east frieze was removed to enable the apse to be built and the heads were disfigured. Moreover, almost all of the metopes on the east, north and the west sides of the Temple were, we may assume, deliberately defaced.

In 1204 the Crusaders occupied Athens, and the Parthenon now became the Roman Catholic Church of Notre Dame d'Athènes. This was the state for more than 250 years. In 1456 the city of Athens was surrendered to the Ottoman invaders. The Parthenon was converted into a mosque. Given this change in religious function, it must be remembered that its main fabric, including most of the decorative sculpture, remained intact to a remarkable degree, which is demonstrated by the Jacques Carrey drawings from 1674.

However, a serious situation occurred in 1687 when the Venetians were laying siege to the Acropolis.

More damage was now done to the Parthenon in one year than in all its previous history. The temple, converted by the Turks into a gunpowder magazine, received a direct hit from Venetian artillery. The roof was blown off. A huge gap was torn in the colonnades on either side. Much of the sculpture was broken and destroyed. After the explosion the site assumed the character a depository for building materials. An almost complete structure had now turned into a ruin.

A new and momentous phase in the history of the Parthenon began when Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin, arrived and was received at Constantinople as the British Ambassador in November 1799. Now begins the remarkable story of the so-called “Elgin Marbles”, of which William St. Clair has delivered a penetrating account, documented in depth (1967, 1983, 1998). Elgin's ambition was to improve the arts in Great Britain by making available casts and drawings of Greek monuments previously known only from drawings and engravings. In order to achieve this, he assembled a group of architects, painters, draughtsmen and moulders. This research team, led by the Italian



Fig. 1. The block VI from the east frieze of the Parthenon. Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis and Aphrodite. Acropolis Museum. By courtesy of Dr. A. Choremi, Director, Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Culture, Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Athens.

landscape painter Giovanni Battista Lusieri, began work in Athens in 1800. The following year Elgin was granted a licence by the Ottoman government, the reason for which was gratitude for British protection of Ottoman interests in Egypt. The licence required the local authorities not to obstruct Elgin's employees in their documentary work and also allowed them to "take away any pieces in stone with inscriptions or figures". This work was carried out between 1801 and 1804. Indeed, the harvest was considerable. The

collection, which arrived in England in two shipments (1804, 1812), included material from four buildings on the Acropolis. From the Parthenon: 247 feet and the original 524 feet of the frieze, 15 of the 92 metopes, 17 pedimental figures and various pieces of architecture. From the Erechtheion: a Caryatid, a column and other architectural pieces. Propylaia: architectural members. From the Temple of Athena Nike: four slabs of the frieze and architectural members.

Lord Elgin left Constantinople in 1803. On his return to England in

1806, following his imprisonment by the French, he found himself in financial difficulties. In 1810 he began to negotiate with the British Government for the sale of his collection, which he offered five years later for £73,000. If this was refused Elgin was prepared to abide by the value to be determined by a Select Committee of the House of Commons. The Committee lowered the original offer considerably, and the sale went through in 1816 for the sum of £35,000. By an Act of Parliament the Elgin Marbles were vested in the



Fig. 2. The block XXXVI from the north frieze of the Parthenon. Youths on horseback. Acropolis Museum. By courtesy of Dr. A. Choremi, Director, Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Culture, Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Athens. After Greece. Prehistoric and classical monuments, E. Korka and E. Konstantinidi-Syvridi (eds), Hellenic Ministry of Culture 2002.

Trustees of the British Museum in perpetuity. The Trustees of the British Museum hold the collections under the terms of the *British Museum Act 1963*. This legislation prohibits the Trustees from permanently disposing of objects unless they are duplicates of others already in the collection or are unfit to be retained and can be disposed of without detriment to the interests of students. The legislation provides for objects to be loaned for temporary public exhibitions. The trustees may not make permanent loans, although renewable loans are possible.

On arrival at the British Museum in 1817 the marbles were first preserved in a prefabricated gallery designed by Robert Smirke. A permanent "Elgin Room" was constructed on the west side of the museum in 1832, where the collection remained until a new gallery funded by Lord Duveen was built in 1938. This building was designed by John Russell Pope to house the Parthenon sculptures, but the outbreak of war in 1939 postponed the opening ceremony. After necessary preparations and installations the gallery was reopened 1962.

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The idea of returning the Parthenon sculptures to Athens made no sense as long as Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire. There was no reason to suggest that they should be sent back. The Ottoman government, internationally recognized as legitimate, had not valued them. It had not been able to protect them. Greek antiquities continued to be exported from territories under its jurisdiction. In the early nineteenth century,

however, the political situation in the Eastern Mediterranean was taken for granted.

With the establishment of a modern Greek state in the early 1830s, the Parthenon assumed a new significance. It had become a symbol of newly acquired national identity. "I believe," wrote Pittakis in the first guide to the antiquities of Athens published by free Greece, "that in the state of independence we are entering we will have the right to reclaim from the English Nation the masterpieces of our ancestors to put them back in the place which the divine Phidias chose for them." Even if the Greeks may have been unconcerned about the Parthenon in the years before independence, they now regarded the marbles as their own property. Even if Elgin may have performed an act of rescue, the new circumstances required an act of restitution. A long campaign had been initiated.

The current debate takes its point of departure from Melina Mercouri's passionate appeal for the return of the Parthenon Marbles delivered at the International Conference of Ministers of Culture in Mexico, August 1982. Melina Mercouri had an urgent message to convey. She was thinking of a day when the world will conceive of other visions, other notions about ownership, culture heritage and human creativity. She fully appreciated that museums cannot be emptied. She wanted to remind us that in the case of the Acropolis marbles she was not asking for the return of a painting or a statue. She was asking for the restitution of part of a unique monument, the particular symbol of a civilization.

The Greek claim for the return of

the marbles soon gained increasing international support in organizations such as UNESCO and ICOM. In the past, the case for the return was usually made at governmental level. In our time the emphasis has shifted towards mobilizing international opinion. The British Committee for the Restitution of the Parthenon Marbles was formed in 1983. The idea came from the architect James Cubitt, who firmly believed that the Parthenon Marbles, as integral architectural members of a unique monument, should be brought together in a museum as close to the Acropolis as possible.

The official Greek position has been drafted in the same spirit. Accordingly, the return of the marbles is not a nationalistic claim made by the Greek government and the Greek people. It is a claim by the mutilated monument itself. The argument is that the sculptures are inseparable parts of the temple, the great immovable monument of classical antiquity. The Greek request does not, however, place the historic and legal dimensions of the issue at the centre of its argument. Moreover, since 1997 the Greek Minister of Culture, Professor Venizelos, has refrained from addressing the issue of

Fig. 3. Parthenon. Raising of a column capital (1929). By courtesy of Dr. A. Choremi, Director, Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Culture, Directorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. After Greece. Prehistoric and classical monuments, E. Korke and E. Konstantinidi-Syroidi (eds), Hellenic Ministry of Culture 2002.



ownership by suggesting to his British counterpart that the restitution of the marbles may be carried out in the form of a long-term loan. And there is space available. In Athens, at the foot of the Acropolis, a new museum is currently being planned. A special hall will exhibit the Parthenon's sculptural magnificence in its entirety.

Melina Mercouri's vision was not only a question of national pride. In a way it challenged the status quo, it challenged the traditional museum structure based on eighteenth-century notions about the values of the encyclopaedic museum. The issue has far-reaching implications. Is it at all possible to isolate the act of restitution of the Parthenon Marbles as a result of bilateral understanding without running the risk of being faced with a "snowball effect"? Indeed, such fears seem inevitable. What is feared is a disruption of the traditional museum structure.

The emotional magnitude of the restitution issue became apparent when Sir David Wilson, then Director of the British Museum, was interviewed by BBC television in June 1986. "To rip the Elgin marbles from the walls of the British Museum", he said, "is a much greater disaster than the

threat of blowing up the Parthenon... I think this is cultural fascism. It's nationalism and it's cultural danger, enormous cultural danger. If you start to destroy great intellectual institutions, you are culturally fascist." Let us, however, in all fairness disregard the emotionalism in this statement. The arguments against restitution can be more carefully formulated. Recently, a declaration on the importance and value of universal museums has been signed by directors of the leading museum institutions in the UK, the US, France, Germany, France, Spain, Italy and the Netherlands. Calls to repatriate objects that have belonged to museum collections for many years have become an important issue for museums. The directors admit that each case has to be judged individually. But their main point is that museums serve not just the citizens of one nation but the people of every nation. Neil MacGregor, the present director of the British Museum, issued a statement in November last year, where he argued along the same lines. The restitution claim is rejected on the grounds that the collections in the British Museum provide a uniquely rich setting for the marbles as an important chapter in

the story of human cultural achievement and civilization. It is this story which the British Museum exists to tell. And, in addressing the proposal to display the marbles in Athens as a long-term loan, MacGregor insists that a select group of key objects, to which without doubt the Parthenon sculptures belong, needs to be permanently accessible to the Museum's visitors who come here expecting to see them. To lend these objects would seriously impair the Museum's ability to fulfil its core function to the visitor, MacGregor argues. He concludes by once again making the point that the British Museum is a truly universal museum of humanity, accessible to five million visitors from around the world every year entirely free of charge. Only here can the worldwide significance of the Parthenon sculptures be fully grasped.

Our choice is not an easy one. William St. Clair has reminded us of the options: "If the arguments for return are still, essentially, nationalistic, the arguments for the status quo are still, essentially, variations of older claims to imperial trusteeship and responsibility."

THE GREEK REQUEST FOR THE RETURN OF THE PARTHENON MARBLES

Eleni Korka

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Archaeological Institutes, Organisations and International Issues, Hellenic Ministry of Culture

The Greek request for the return of the Parthenon Marbles is literally as old as the Greek state itself. An attendant of King Otto, the first Greek King, is said to have made the first request to Great Britain for the restitution of the Parthenon Marbles.

As early as 1837 (we must have in mind that the Greek state, with its then borders, was officially founded in 1833) the Archaeological Society undertook the most important and burdensome task of all, the restoration of the Acropolis monuments.

On the evening of 12 May 1842, the first Greek archaeologists, while standing on the steps of the Parthe-

non, addressed a solemn request for the return of the Marbles to their birthplace. The words which rang out then are not much different from what we say here today: "... as we slowly gather the pieces of the temple like precious diamonds, in order to proceed to its reconstruction, we fear that our work shall remain incomplete as a great number of sculptures and architectural members remain in London... A few months ago Lord Elgin passed away. Let us, however, bear no grudge, let us simply ask of Great Britain to send us the precious adornments which she holds, as tribute to this monument from which

all artists receive their inspiration. Their value as they lie separated from the monument is diminished, while the monument stands maimed without them.... Let this generous gesture place itself in the true service of art. Let us hope that these kind words, which echo in the hearts of all Englishmen, will bear fruit..."

Few words can be added even today to this magnanimous petition. Since then, the toilsome procedure of the conservation and restoration of the Acropolis monuments continues every day, bearing new evidence and taking us one step further toward the appreciation of these unique monu-



Fig. 1. North Frieze. Block XXVI, Block XXVII, Block XXVIII. Charioteers. The lower half of block XXVI, the upper half of block XXVII and all of block XXVIII are in London. The connecting pieces are in Athens.

ments. All through the years the issue of the reunification of the Parthenon Marbles was always open for the Greek people and the voices of many scholars, men of letters and art, politicians, journalists and leading figures have been heard repeating the 1842 request. From 1873 we happened to come across a letter sent to his Majesty the King of England by a simple antiquities custodian, whose post was on the Acropolis. At that time he undertook to guide the Prince of Wales on the Parthenon and other monuments during his trip to Athens. He explained why the sculptures were missing. Then he decided to address the King himself and take the liberty to ask for their reunification with the monument for which he cared so much and which he dutifully guarded.

Through time a great number of resolutions voted upon by many Greek institutions have been addressed to the British government. The issue has always been hot in the Greek press, showing the public's interest in the matter. Well-known texts by Palamas, Kavafis, Seferis, Elytis and Kazantzakis are an open appeal to the British animus and intellect.

During 1941 the dream came close to being fulfilled, when the Foreign Office proposed the repatriation of the Marbles, as a token of gratitude for the Greek contribution to the fight against the Nazis during World War II. However, the proposal was not adopted by the government. Actually in 1942 there was another proposal to send the Marbles on display to the United States in order to gather money for Greece, but that did not work out either.



Fig. 2. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

In 1961 a specific request was placed by the Mayor of Athens to the city of London for the return of the Marbles.

Finally, at the beginning of 1982, the Greek Minister of Culture Melina Mercouri gave an interview to the BBC and asked for the restitution of the Parthenon sculptures, as major restoration work on the Acropolis was about to start. In the same year, at the UNESCO meeting of the Ministers of Culture in Mexico, she announced the intention of the Greek government to proceed in placing an official request concerning the Parthenon Marbles and proposed that the adoption of this request by UNESCO be put to an open vote.

A clear majority voted in favour, marking the start of a world campaign. Motions were addressed to all relevant international organizations. UNESCO adopted the Parthenon as its logo and has given it the status of a world heritage monument under protection.

In 1982 the Greek government addressed an official request to the United Kingdom. In 1983 it placed a specific request before UNESCO.

The United Kingdom as a state and as member of UNESCO rejected

the Greek request in 1984 and 1985. In 1987 the Greek delegation, at the meeting of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin or its Restitution in Case of Illicit Appropriation (the Committee with the longest title), made known Greece's decision to announce an international architectural competition for a New Acropolis Museum, in order to house all the Parthenon Marbles. The site of the construction is right below the Acropolis, where one may have direct eye contact with the monument and its historical environment. Of course the plan and schedule of the Museum are continuously undergoing changes as they need to adopt to the specific environmental conditions of the construction site.

The Greek request refers solely to the Parthenon Marbles, refraining from any other request for the repatriation of Greek antiquities from foreign museums, because of the uniqueness of the monument, its symbolism and the unity between the sculptures and the monument's architectural structure.

The world-wide response on the issue has been enormous. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) has taken a positive stance on the issue time and again. The European Parliament in 1999 took a decisive vote upon the issue, the text of which was addressed, among others, to the British government.

Since 1987 every two years at the meetings of UNESCO's Intergovernmental Committee, a recommendation has been adopted in favour of the return of the Parthenon Marbles, encouraging the commencement of bilateral discussions.



Fig. 3. The New Acropolis Museum. Digital reconstruction of the Parthenon Hall.

In the meantime the issue for the return of the Marbles has become a universal concern. People all around the world have been sensitized on the subject. Special committees have been founded in many countries (UK, Canada, USA, Australia, New Zealand, Spain, Belgium, Italy, Yugoslavia, Russia, Cyprus, now Sweden and Chile is soon to follow), much has been written and argued upon concerning the issue, while state leaders and parliamentary bodies of many countries have openly expressed their support. Recent international polls have shown that by now the reunification of the Parthenon Sculptures has become a global cultural imperative. You may be amazed to know that a few years ago the people of the Fiji and Vanuatu islands asked the Greek consul to give them a lecture about the Parthenon Marbles.

Anyhow, today the international museological community has new visions and outlooks with reference to exceptional cases for the restitution of cultural goods, especially where the necessity of exhibiting and reunifying cultural goods in their proper context arises.

The Greek request has also evolved through the years, taking into

account the new international concepts, on the one hand, and the British sensitivities on the other.

The Minister of Culture, Professor Evangelos Venizelos, has crystallized this position through specific new challenging proposals:

The claim for the restitution of the Parthenon Marbles is not raised by Greece for reasons of national sensitivity, it is rather posed by the mutilated monument itself in the name of the universal cultural heritage.

The Parthenon Marbles are not a self-contained, movable work of art, like an important statue, or a famous vase. The Marbles are part of an architectural construction, of a unique monument, the Parthenon, from which they have been removed in a violent way.

During the last twenty-seven years, the Greek Ministry of Culture has implemented an extended and systematic project of restoration and reconstruction of the monuments of the Acropolis. This project is being carried out in an exemplary way, under the continuous supervision of the international scientific community. The objective is that these efforts will produce a visible result perceivable to any visitor to Greece before the 2004 Olympic Games.

At the same time, the Greek Ministry of Culture is promoting the construction of the New Acropolis Museum located at the foot of the Acropolis and allowing the visitor to have a direct view of the Parthenon, as well as the other monuments of the Acropolis. The New Acropolis Museum, housing all important finds from the Acropolis, was designed by the renowned architect Bernard Tschumi and architects selected after an international architectural competition. As a work of architecture, the New Acropolis Museum stands discreet and unpretentious at the foot of the monuments of the Acropolis and in the larger archaeological area. The architectural designs for the New Acropolis Museum take into account the remains of late Roman antiquity and early Byzantium, which were found at the Makrigianni site. These remains are rescued, protected and exhibited in the best possible way as they are incorporated into the museum.

Starting in 1997, the Greek government has formed a clear and simple position regarding the restitution of the Marbles. This position was recently presented directly to the British Prime Minister, the British Minister of Culture, the President of



Fig. 4. Model of the New Acropolis Museum and surroundings.

the Board of the British Museum and its Director. The Greek side, taking into account British sensibilities, is proposing not a legal, but a cultural and political treatment of the entire issue. We propose that in lieu of approaching the issues of history and ownership, we begin a pragmatic discussion on the real issue of reuniting the Parthenon Marbles. As is well known, we proposed that the restitu-

tion of the Parthenon Marbles take the form of a joint exhibition organized by the two museums, the New Museum of the Acropolis and the British Museum, to be mounted in Athens in the new building of the New Acropolis Museum. In practical terms, this means that a section of the New Acropolis Museum can function as an annex of the British Museum, which will continue to have the

ownership and control of the Marbles currently exhibited in London. Another simple legal solution would be the long-term loan of the Marbles to the New Acropolis Museum.

As part of the proposal, the Greek side will undertake the responsibility of organizing a series of important temporary exhibitions of Greek antiquity in the British Museum, as well as in other museums in



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As part of the proposal, the Greek side will undertake the responsibility of organizing a series of important temporary exhibitions of Greek antiquity in the British Museum, as well as in other museums in the cities of the United Kingdom, which will appeal to both British and international public opinion.

This new aura of creative thinking and the exploration of new profitable bilateral cultural agreements has already brought positive results. At the last meeting of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee, in Paris, two months ago, a consensus recommendation was adopted, whereby a meeting between representatives of Greece and the UK would take place in 2003, under the auspices of UNESCO, in order for them to discuss the Greek proposals.

With these encouraging messages in mind, in this lovely Mediterranean Museum in Stockholm, let us just say like Thomas Hardy in his poem: "Thereat old Helios could but nod".

THE PARTHENON MARBLES AS AN ARCHITECTURAL ISSUE

Anthony Snodgrass

The British Committee for the Reunification of the Parthenon Marbles

Since 1816, when the British Museum first acquired Lord Elgin's trophies from the Athenian Acropolis, there have been many changes in the display and presentation of the sculptures. Parliament had already done one important job for the Museum by establishing, to most people's satisfaction, that the Marbles were not only genuine Greek work of the fifth century B.C., but exceptionally fine examples of such work. The Museum now had to present them to the British public, the taxpayers who presently, with the advance of democracy, also became the electorate, and who had been landed with what was then the large bill of £ 35,000 for the purchase from Elgin. Later, with the advance of travel and tourism, the viewing public began to include people from all over the world. Later still, the Museum found it necessary to provide much more information for these viewers. A few years ago, it even stopped calling them the "Elgin Marbles". But in at least two ways, the Museum seems to have been unsuccessful in transmitting central facts about the Marbles.

The first concern is one that is not the main concern of my paper. It is that the Museum has conveyed the

impression, evidently by intent and not by oversight, that what you see in the so-called Elgin Marbles is more or less all there is. In the words of my friend and colleague Mary Beard, "The real trick of the arrangement is to present the Elgin Marbles as if they were a complete set"; and "In order to bring this off, [the display] must effectively dismantle the original shape and layout of the sculpture as it was on the temple". Some trouble has been taken to perfect the deception: thus, the square Metopes from the South side were once incongruously placed on a wall above the West Frieze, with the figures of the East Pediment in front of them. Today, in the tomb-like sterility of the Duveen Gallery (Fig. 1), they are tucked into the alcoves to the left and right. There is more concern for correctness now, but the culmination of the Frieze, on the short East side of the temple, is still brought round to join the North frieze on one of the long sides of the gallery. Nearby, an awkward gap in the Museum's holdings is masked by a false door, to disguise the fact that most of the next slab is in Athens; and so on. True, careful readers of the labels in London will find tell-tale references to

pieces like the West Frieze being "still largely in Athens" (I like that use of the word "still", implying that in due course they too may reach London: a suggestion made, at least half seriously, by one of the British Museum's Keepers to the Parliamentary Select Committee in 2000, proposing that the Marbles should indeed be reunited – but in London!). But even then, the impression remains that the gaps are relatively trivial.

The truth is very different: leaving all questions of quality aside and including every piece of the Parthenon sculptures, my own calculation is that today some 49% of the surviving Marbles is in London, about 49% in Athens – some of it till recently still attached to the Parthenon itself – and some 2% distributed among a few museums in the rest of the world. The Athens component has been greatly enlarged by an unbroken series of discoveries of further fragments through excavations, since the 1830's, on the Acropolis rock, leading to a situation where even the individual pieces are divided between Athens and London, with the better-preserved elements often to be found in Athens.

But the point leads on to what is



Fig. 1. British Museum, The Duveen Gallery.

the central concern of this talk: the fact that every single item in the Marbles was designed to be incorporated in a very special building, the Parthenon. More than that, the vast majority of the pieces – the 522-foot-long frieze which ran round the outer walls of the inner building, inside the colonnade, and the 92 sculpted metopes which were on the outside, above this colonnade – were, in a much more literal sense, built into the Parthenon. That is to say, they were not decorative additions added at the end, but were sculpted on blocks that played a role in actually keeping the building up, and that then had substantial architectural members laid on top of them. Only the huge figures in the gables, originally over 40 in

number, standing as they did on the floors of the two pediments, were at all readily separable from the building, or could in even the loosest sense be described as “statues”.

As a shorthand, I will apply Elgin’s name in this talk to the actions of his agents, especially Giovanni Battista Lusieri, the chief of them, who was on the scene in Athens throughout, while Elgin himself was mostly at his embassy in Constantinople. My justification is that Elgin had given the orders for Lusieri’s actions, and afterwards expressed only delight at their fulfilment. So what was the course of Elgin’s operations on the building, and how did this separation come about? We know that he had

twelve surviving figures in the East Pediment removed, and most of those from the West Pediment, but these could be lifted off without damaging the architecture. The crunch – literally – came when the problems of removing first the metopes, then the frieze were addressed. We have the best documentation of all for the very first day, 31st July 1801. Lusieri had brought ladders and pulleys to the south-east corner of the building. On the south side, seven well-preserved metopes were still in situ at the eastern extremity and these were Lusieri’s first target. He began with the seventh one along from the corner (metope South 26), then worked his way through metopes South 27 to South 32, the corner one. Our first witness is the traveller Edward Dodwell, who saw South 26 and South 27 taken down and later returned to Athens when all seven had gone. As he put it, “in order to lift them up, it was necessary to throw to the ground the magnificent cornice by which they were covered. The south east angle of the pediment shared the same fate...”. Dodwell voiced “inexpressible mortification” at seeing this done; but when he used the word “necessary” he was in fact being charitable: it would have been perfectly possible to lower each block of the “magnificent cornice” in the same way as was done with the metopes. Instead, they were dashed to the ground.

Better still, we also have visual evidence, as you see in Fig. 2. William Gell sketched this corner of the Parthenon on that very evening, after metope South 26 had been lowered and while preparations were under way for removing metope South 27.



Fig. 2, upper. Watercolour of the Parthenon in 1801.

*Fig. 2, lower. View of the same corner of the temple but from a different angle, nine years later (both pictures after R. and F. Etienne, *The Search for Ancient Greece*, 1992, 69).*

In his finished watercolour of the scene (Fig. 2, upper) the two figures in the centre have been identified as the Turkish military governor, the Disdar, and Lusieri; above stands one of Lusieri's ladders; in front of metope South 27 the tackle is in place for its removal; on top of it is a cornice-block, and we know from Dodwell what its fate was shortly to be. Metopes South 28-South 32 await their turn. The view (Fig. 2, lower) of the same corner of the temple but from a different angle, was executed probably nine years later, in 1810, by Byron's friend John Hobhouse, and shows the state of this corner of the building after the completion of the work. Nothing is left of the upper works except the backing-blocks of the metopes, with the intervening triglyphs still in place – all except for the final one at the corner. We can guess what had happened to that: as we can see by looking back at the top drawing, the removal of the very last metope and triglyph before the actual corner presented special problems of its own: it was overhung not only by the cornice along the side of the building, but by the corner of the pediment at the east end. That is why, as Dodwell put it, "The south east angle of the pediment shared the same fate".

As the work went on, further damage, both deliberate and accidental, proved inescapable. We have a third witness in Edward Daniel Clarke who visited the Acropolis that October and saw further metopes being removed (by now, presumably, those at the other end of the south side). He describes how, in the course of raising and then lowering a metope, the workmen accidentally dislod-



Fig. 3. The Opera House in Hanoi.

ged the “adjoining masonry and down came the fine masses of Pentelican marble, scattering their white fragments with thundering noise among the ruins”. Clarke embroidered his account with a famous anecdote of the Disdar himself removing his pipe from his mouth, letting a tear fall, and crying “Enough!”. This has fallen under suspicion of being a rhetorical addition, but it would be harder to cast doubt on the eye-witness account that precedes it.

The frieze was still to come. Elgin’s chaplain had written to his master in Constantinople in August

or September 1801, asking him to send “a dozen marble saws of different sizes to Athens as quickly as possible” and Lusieri followed up his request with a “hastener” on 30th September; Elgin promised to oblige. Hot on the heels of the news that the Turkish authorities had given way by allowing pieces to be accidentally detached from the Parthenon, the request for marble saws could mean only one thing; and now they came into their own. Lusieri began using them systematically, with a new excuse: many of the frieze-blocks were extremely heavy because of their great thickness, and what he did

was to saw through them laterally, so as to detach the sculpted face with a marble backing of less than a foot thick. With the longest frieze-block of all, the central slab of the East Frieze, this did not quite work: in Lusieri’s words, “Not being well-sawn, for want of sufficiently fine saws, and being a little weak in the middle, it parted in two in the course of the transport”. Clearly, he had underestimated the need to allow a greater thickness, in proportion to its extreme length.

Such was the damage – most of it unintentional – inflicted on the sculptures of the Parthenon. I myself

find this easier to forgive than the deliberate damage to the architecture of this great building. But then I may well be in minority, in that Greek architecture means at least as much to me as Greek sculpture. Its symmetry, precision and subtlety are best seen perhaps in close-up views of fallen fragments; but there is also the mystery which still lies behind some of the minute changes that it adopts for different settings, different materials and cultural traditions. The influence of Greek architecture has probably excelled, in cross-cultural diffusion and in sheer duration, that of Greek sculpture. The Classical, as has been well said, is the only universal style in architecture, and Greek temple-building stood at its heart. We see its influence extending through time and space, via Roman architecture, the Italian Renaissance, Palladio and Inigo Jones, into the early 17th century; then a temporary eclipse, for just a hundred years, by the Baroque; then later the Neo-Classicism of the 1720's and after; and finally the specific "Greek revival" of the 1780's onwards. We see these later stages exemplified far beyond the expected locales of England, Scotland or France – here in Scandinavia, across the Atlantic by the time of Jefferson, to be carried later still, on the back of colonialism, to such unexpected sites as the Opera House in Hanoi (Fig. 3). Even in the professional practice of today, its reign cannot be said to be over to quite the same degree as can be said of Classical Greek sculpture.

Its subtleties are quintessentially represented in the Parthenon, a building that has so many modifications to its apparently vertical and

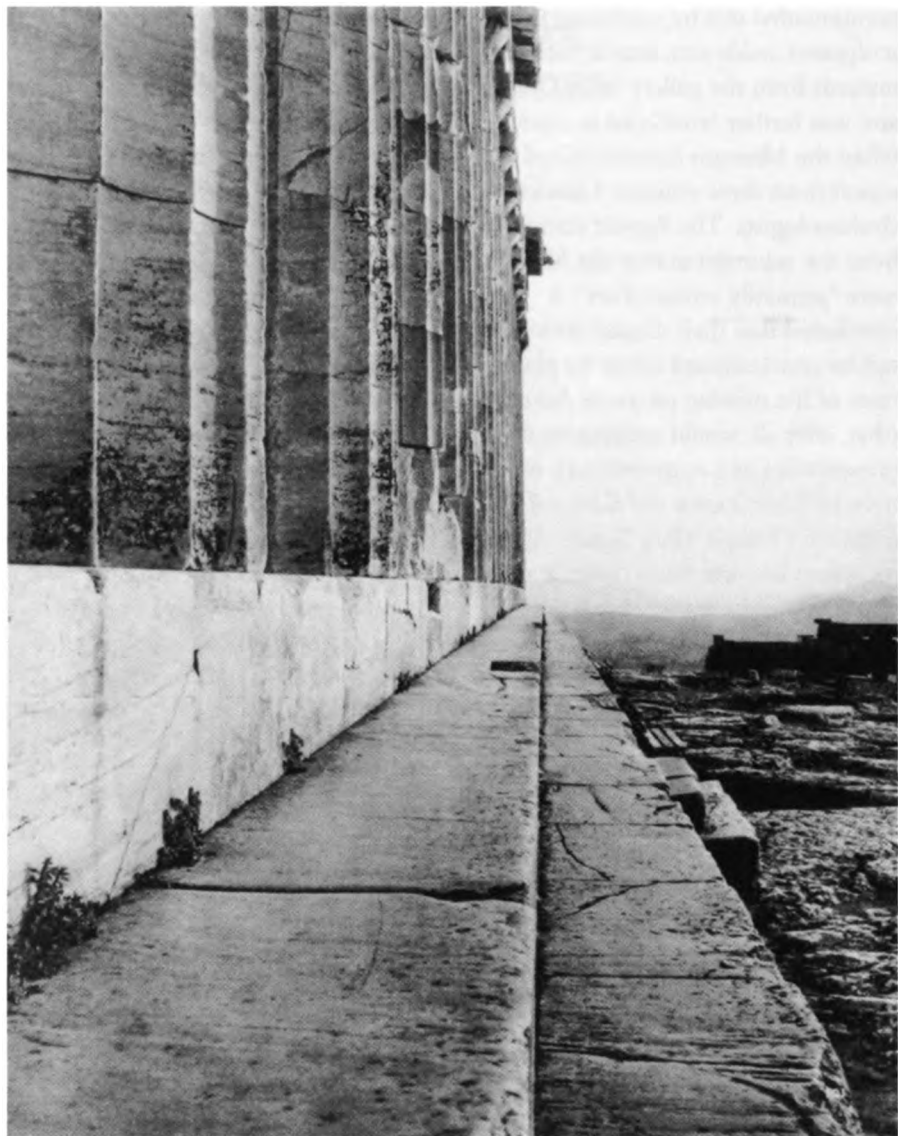


Fig. 4. So many modifications to its apparently vertical and horizontal lines.

horizontal lines (Fig. 4) that, for example, it ends up having 46 outer columns of which every one is minutely different from the others; the same has recently been found to be true even of the rectangular blocks that composed its inner walls. This was the building that Elgin vandalised. What he did with the sculptures of the Parthenon can, up to a certain

point, be defended, and is regularly and loudly justified to this day; what he did to its architecture is simply indefensible.

To return to where we began, in the British Museum. By presenting the "Elgin Marbles" as if it were a self-contained whole, the Museum effectively detached the Marbles from their architectural setting. They

compounded this by exhibiting the sculptures inside-out, that is, facing inwards from the gallery walls. Their aim was further reinforced in 1928, when the Museum commissioned a report from three eminent Classical Archaeologists. The Report started from the assumption that the Marbles were "primarily works of art"; it concluded that their display should not be contaminated either by plaster casts of the missing pieces in Athens (that, after all, would undermine their presentation as a complete set), or even by Elgin's own architectural fragments. I hope Mary Beard will let me quote her one more time: "It was a victory for the transcendental quality of original masterpieces over completeness, context and history; it was a victory for the Parthenon as

sculpture over the Parthenon as building."

Yet it is the building, still relatively well-preserved or – restored in relation to its great age, which lies at the heart of this issue; it was the vandalising of the building which was Elgin's greatest crime; the building is the context where the sculptures were placed originally. It still exists; and if you will allow me to quote one last statistic at you, last September one of the engineers in charge of the Acropolis Restoration works, who have been plotting the location of every single stray block that can still be seen in Athens and can be shown to come from the Parthenon, made the surprising conjecture that, after all the damage and the spoliation of the past fifteen centuries, there is still

some 80% of the original fabric of the Parthenon to be found somewhere "on the site". In time, the restoration process can incorporate all these pieces into the meticulous current reconstruction of the building. To turn to the title of our Conference, no one but Greece claims, or will ever claim, to own the Parthenon itself. All parties are agreed that the original division of the sculpture from the architecture cannot now be made good; but the further division within the sculpture can and will. As the next best solution, it is there, in sight of the Parthenon and, for good measure, at last restored to their correct, outward-facing configuration, that the reunited sculptures belong.

A FOLLOW-UP RESULT OF THE PARTHENON SEMINAR: A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE ERECHTHEION IN SWEDEN

Sanne Houby-Nielsen
Director

An article in the Swedish magazine *Vi* referring to the Swedish Parthenon Committee recently caught the attention of an elderly Swedish lady. The lady had for a long time kept on top of the bookshelf in her drawing room an old, carved marble fragment which she had inherited from her father. According to him, the fragment was collected from the ground by an uncle of the lady's mother when he visited the Acropolis in the 1890s on a tour to Athens in his capacity as naval warrant officer.¹ Sensing from the newspaper article that the piece might be of historical value, the lady contacted the Swedish Committee for the return of the Parthenon Marbles and both consulted the Medelhavsmuseet. Here, curator Karen Slej and I were immediately able to verify that the fragment is a piece of architectural marble decoration with three delicately carved mouldings consisting of a "band of stylized leaves", followed by a so-called "egg and dart" and "bead and reel". In other words, these are the mouldings which are typically found, for instance, on the architrave of Classical Ionic buildings (Fig. 1).

The small fragment is 19.0 cm wide, 6.0 cm thick and 8.7 cm tall.



*Fig. 1: The front of the "Swedish" fragment from the Erechtheion.
Photo: Ove Kaneberg.*

Apart from its well-preserved front, it is broken on all sides. The lowermost tip of three standing stylized leaves separated by three stems is preserved of the upper moulding. Five "pearls" and five "reels" are preserved from the second moulding and from the third moulding, the upper part of two "eggs" and one "dart" are preserved as well as a very small part of a second "dart" and a third "egg". The marble is very white, with plenty of glimmering

particles and bands of schist visible in the fractures. The sides of the fragment appear fresh (white) while the rear fracture of the fragments is more yellowish and partly covered by incrustation. On the left side, a faded, handwritten, inked inscription says "Bit av Parthenon 189[5 or 6]" which in Swedish means "fragment of Parthenon 189[5 or 6]" (Fig. 2). However, as the decoration of the mouldings all points to a large Ionic

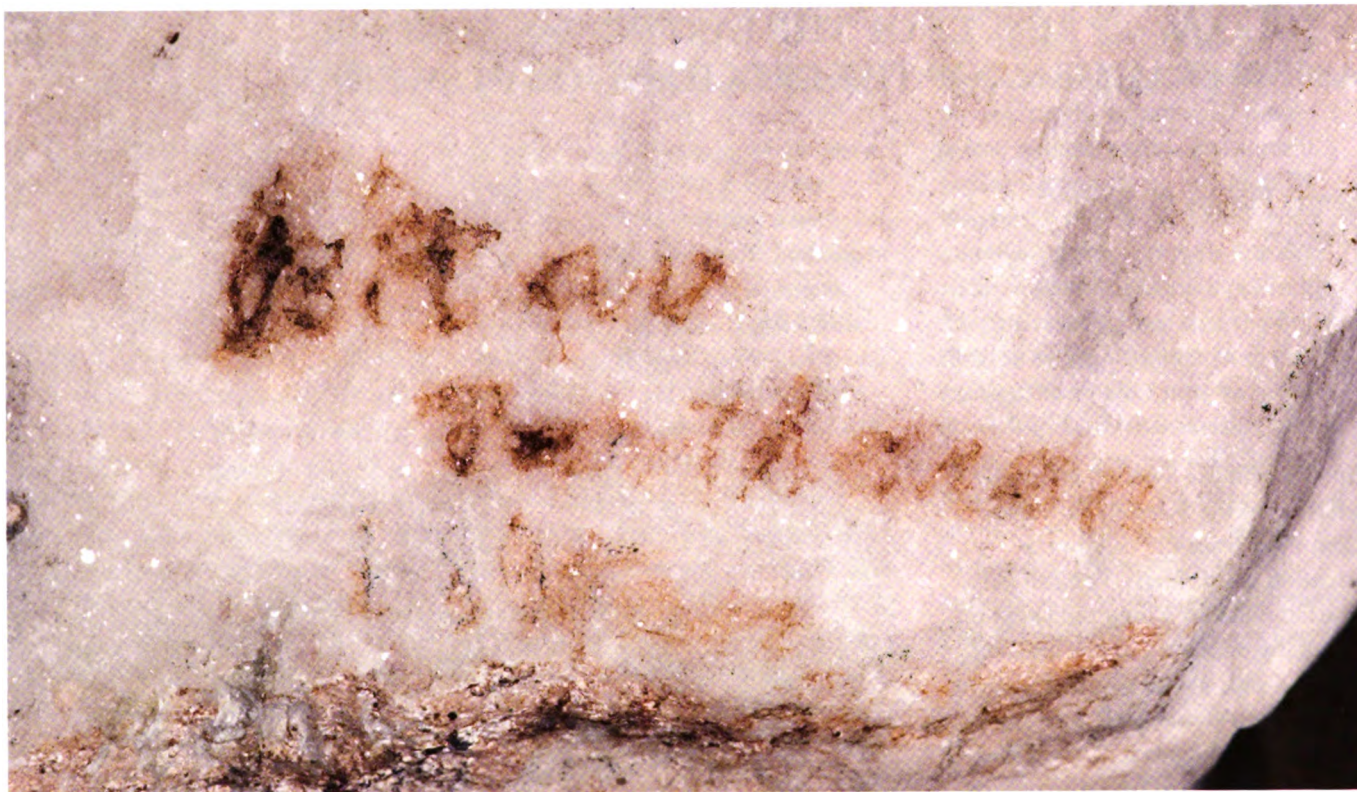


Fig. 2: The left side of the "Swedish" Erechtheion fragment with inked inscription: "Βίτ ἀν Παρθενον 189[5 or 6]". Photo: Ove Kaneberg.

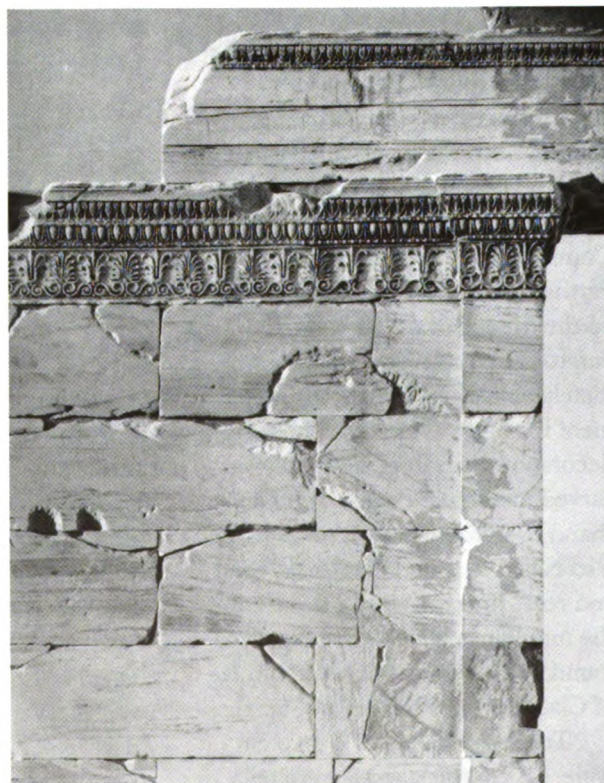


Fig. 3: The carved mouldings of the south wall of the main building of the Erechtheion (Photo: after Berve and Gruben 1961, pl. 27)

building with rich ornamentation, the most likely candidate is the Erechtheion temple dating to the 420s B.C.

This temple is famous, among other things, for its unique and peculiar architectural plan and its elaborate decoration. The rectangular main building of the temple is built on different levels, the western half being much lower than the eastern half. Six extremely slender and tall Ionic columns stand in front of its Eastern entrance. A large portico to the North supported by six tall Ionic columns provides a second entrance. To the south, six statues of young girls – the *karyatids* – support the roof of a small portico. The architectural decoration of the temple is extremely rich and finely carved. A frieze encircling the main building was made of black Eleusinian marble with sculptural decoration added in white marble. The architrave supporting the frieze was crowned by a moulding with carved floral decoration. Highly elaborate, carved floral decoration embellished the upper part of the walls of the main building (the *epikranitis*) and its *antae* (end walls). The upper three mouldings are similar to those of the “Swedish” fragment (Fig. 3). The latter therefore most likely stems from the *epikranitis*.

Two very similar fragments were acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1912 and 1924 respectively (Figs. 4–5) and immediately recognized as being from the Erechtheion. Just like the “Swedish” fragment, the former is identified as being from the *epikranitis* of the Erechtheion and both fragments accordingly have identical proportions.² The latter fragment, purchased in 1924, is stated to have been picked up from the Acropolis in

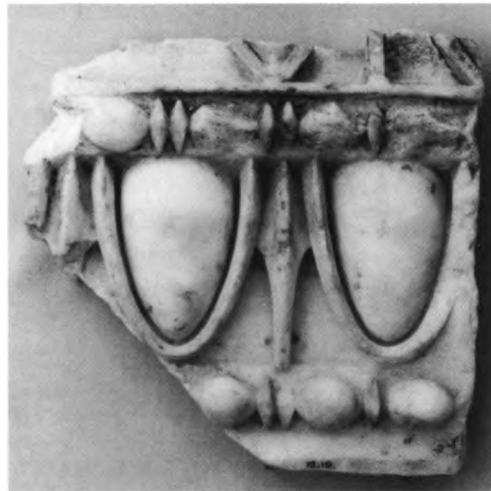


Fig. 4. Fragment in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, of the anta capital of the east Portico of the Erechtheion. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum).



Fig. 5. Fragment in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, of the epikranitis of the Erechtheion. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum).

the 1890s, that is, contemporary with the “Swedish” fragment. The *anta* capital from the east portico of the Erechtheion in the British Museum was purchased in 1816 as part of the whole collection formed by Lord Elgin’s agents and consisting of sculptures, frieze and architectural fragments from the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, and other ancient buildings.³

The fact that the “Swedish”

fragment and one of the fragments in the Metropolitan Museum appear to have been picked up from or near the Acropolis in around 1895 makes it worthwhile briefly recalling the status of antiquities in Athens at that time.

In the 1890s, Greece was still a relatively young nation. It had been founded in 1833, largely as a result of passionate, European philhellenic movements striving to revive the “spirit” of Classical Greece. For many

intellectuals, this period – the 5th century B.C. – had come to stand for an ideal state, for democracy and for the perfection of art with the Acropolis and in particular the Parthenon as the visible proof. Athens, although only a small provincial town, had accordingly been made the capital of the new state. Being founded on a vision of an ideal, “Classical” society, the new capital from the very beginning stressed its antiquity and in particular its Classical heritage. Its town plan and many new, official buildings – such as the University of Athens (1839–1864) or the Academy of Science (1859–1887) – were built in close imitation of current conceptions of Classical Greek architecture and town planning. In addition, two very important archaeological institutions – the Greek Archaeological Society and the Greek Archaeological Service – were founded very soon after 1833 with the purpose of investigating and taking care of the antiquities of the new nation.

These new archaeological institutes were, among other things, faced with an acute need to deal with the ancient ruins on the Acropolis. Two and a half thousand years of post-antique reuse of the Acropolis – cathedral, Renaissance palace and fortification, mosque and residence of the Ottoman commandant – had of course left its traces. Not least the use of the Parthenon, the Propylaia and the Erechtheion as stores for gunpowder during the Ottoman period had done serious damage as the “magazines” exploded. The Propylaia exploded in 1645 due to a strike of lightning. The Parthenon was partly blown up in 1687 under the Venetian siege and the Erechtheion in 1827

under the siege of Kioutachis. What was left of the ancient temples and buildings was built into the still standing Ottoman town and residence. In view of the significance of the Classical heritage in the early 19th century, it is understandable that there soon came a programme to free the ruined Classical buildings from remains belonging to later historical periods and restore them to their ancient pride. Already in 1833, the Greek Archaeological Society had begun a restoration of the Nike temple and in 1835–36 it was reconstructed by German and Danish architects. In 1837, the small mosque built inside the Parthenon in the 18th century was demolished and the general dismantling of the Ottoman town and palace was begun. During the 1860s and 1870s, further steps were taken to clear the Acropolis of accretions of later eras, such as the Christian and Roman remains, but also remains of the Italian Renaissance palace and fortification walls which extended down the slopes of the Acropolis and incorporated the Propylaia. By 1875 the last major landmark of post-antique Acropolis, the Frankish tower from the 14th century, had been pulled down.⁴ Travellers’ paintings and sketches from the first half of the 19th century and early photographs from the second half of that century together with travellers’ reports and the works of artists combine to give an idea of how the ruins on the Acropolis gradually became more and more “Classic”.⁵

Simultaneously with this work, large building projects around the city revealed further ancient buildings, sites and monuments famous among other things from the Roman travel-

ler, Pausanias writing in the 2nd century AD, or from Classical theatre plays, historical and philosophical writings. For instance, the construction work on the Piraeos road and the Theseion station and railway line in the 1860s caused the appearance of impressive grave monuments in the Classical style and parts of Classical buildings belonging respectively to the famous cemetery of Kerameikos and to the likewise famous Athenian marketplace. The well-preserved ancient Classical temple of Hephais-teion standing above the ancient market place served as a fitting frame for the new spectacular finds. During the 1870s and 1880s, foreign archaeological schools established themselves, many of them with the particular aim of exploring Classical Greece.

In summary, in the 1890s the ancient Classical city was slowly emerging from the soil for the first time since antiquity and must have constituted a powerful scenography but also a strong reminder of the origin of the many new neo-classical buildings of the young capital. The uncle of the “Swedish lady” was therefore one among the many tourists who now came in crowds to experience ancient Athens. Travellers’ books such as *Baedeker, Handbuch für Reisende* or *Handbook for Travellers in Greece* had been available since the 1870s and 1880s and panoramic postcards showing the extent of the “reborn” Classical city were already popular.⁶ In the light of this genuine admiration and excitement over the emergence of the ancient Classical city, it is easy to understand if many tourists were tempted to bring back a small souvenir. Most visitors would have been relatively unaware of



Fig. 6. The east facade of the Erechtheion c. 1875. Photographer unknown. New York, G. Edwards collection.⁷

prevailing laws against the removal of ancient heritage. Even if they were familiar with such laws, they were hardly likely to associate them with small and thus seemingly “innocent” fragments, especially if these appeared to be plentiful. This appears to have been the case with the Acropolis. Here, the temples of Parthenon, Erechtheion and Nike and the Propylaia were now standing, clearly visible in relative isolation due to the

clearing programme, but they were surrounded by piles of ancient and post-antique stones (Fig. 6). Paintings and photographs from around the middle of the 19th century show large blocks from the entablature of the Erechtheion lying scattered on the ground (Fig. 7). Such large blocks were apparently still lying on the ground in the 1880s to judge from paintings and photographs made at that time. In fact, a block from the

epikranitis is shown in the left corner of a painting depicting the porch of the Karyatids made in 1884 by the Dane Joachim Skovgaard (Fig. 8). As the actual restoration programmes of the Parthenon and the Erechtheion did not start until towards the very end of the 1890s and beginning of the 20th century, we must assume that these larger and smaller architectural blocks were still lying on the ground in the middle of the 1890s.



Fig. 7. Christian Hansen. *The Erechtheion from the south-west*. Pencil and water-colour. 1844. The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts. Collection of Architectural Drawings. Inv. no. Karch 14974. (After Christiansen 2000, fig. 45). Large blocks from the entablature are shown lying on the ground.

Even though the Acropolis was very well guarded even then, it would have been difficult to overview and secure such a large area covered with scattered piles of stones from “curious” visitors day and night. Nor can it be excluded that fragments similar to the “Swedish” fragment stem from more unscrupulous dealers who managed to smuggle out larger architectural fragments from the Acropolis and cut them up into smaller “luggage-sized” pieces in order to sell them to tourists. No matter how these fragments were collected, it is lucky that some of them

soon ended up in museums where they have been the object of professional investigation and been accessible for larger audiences for decades.

Today, in 2004, museum policies are taking new directions and museums and related institutions are increasingly trying to cooperate across borders to solve questions of cultural heritage in the best possible way. A recent example is the repatriation to Australia of a number of aborigine skeletons housed in Swedish museums. When an ancient artefact like the “Swedish” Erech-

theion fragment suddenly turns up, it is natural for the Medelhavsmuseet to inform its owner not only about its historical value, but also about its possible value for the cultural heritage authorities in Greece in charge of the Acropolis restoration project and encourage its owner to take help from the Medelhavsmuseet to seek the best possible solution for the future of the fragment in consultation with colleagues in Greece.



Fig. 8. Joakim Skovgaard. *Porch of the Maidens, the Erechtheion*. Oil on wood 1884. Ordrupgaard, Copenhagen. Cat. No. 236. Courtesy of the Ordrupgaard. (After Christiansen 2000, fig. 63). A block from the epikranitis with decoration similar to the "Swedish" fragment is visible in the left corner.

Postscript: 25 January 2005.

With the help of a plaster copy of the "Swedish" fragment, provided by the Medelhavsmuseet, Director of the Acropolis, Dr. Alkestis Choremi, has confirmed that the fragment stems from the epikranitis of the Erechtheion.

NOTES

1. Bäckstedt 2004. Interview with the owner, conducted at the Medelhavsmuseet.
2. Richter 1924, 309; Richter 1955, 94 and pl. 74d. The fragment from the epikranitis is 15.3 cm long and 14.8 cm tall.
3. Smith 1920, 13, 47–48.
4. Beard 2002, 49–94.

5. Christiansen 2000, 76–84; Beard 2002, 49–94; Antonatos & Mauzy 2003, 12–41.

6. Antonatos & Mauzy 2003, 24 and Athens no. 5.

7. From *Athens 1839–1900*, fig. 302.

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ANNUAL REPORT – WITH A BRIEF REPORT ON THE PREVIOUS FOUR YEARS

Sanne Houby-Nielsen
Director

In addition to research in our collections and main activities reported in the above sections, the Medelhavsmuseet has the ambition to revive an earlier tradition of briefly summarizing other major activities annually. In the present report we even cast a brief glance back at the previous four years of activity, thus covering the gap of time since the last Bulletin was published.

In general, the curators Anna Palmqvist, Karen Slej, Suzanne Unge-Sörling and Karin Ådahl with staff have been in charge of the work reported below.

Larger temporary exhibitions 2000–2004

The ambition has been to produce or show each year one large temporary exhibition dealing with the antiquity and historical periods of the Mediterranean and related areas and based on loans from foreign museums. These larger exhibitions have generally aimed at highlighting less well-known regions of the Mediterranean and areas which were continuously in close contact with Mediterranean cultures and therefore may help to widen and problematize the term “Mediterranean culture”. As target audiences and subjects varied, different architects have designed the exhibitions which have accordingly all differed greatly in appearance. Below is

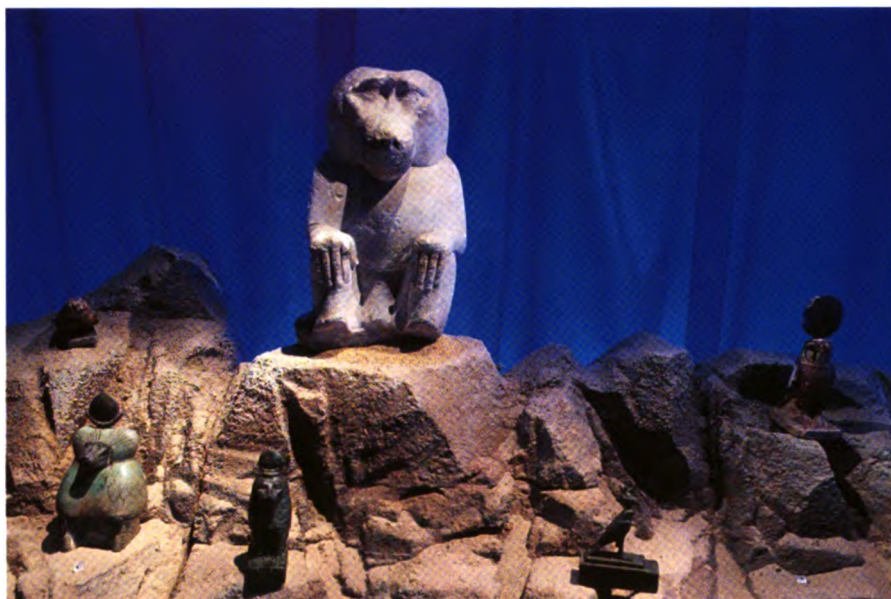


Fig. 1. From the children's exhibition *Animals of Egypt* (2001). Designed by A. Broms.

a short presentation of the larger exhibitions. Unless otherwise stated, the exhibitions and catalogues with explanatory studies in Swedish were produced by the Medelhavsmuseet.

Animals of Egypt (2001) was based largely on our own collections with a few added loans from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen and the Museum Gustavianum in Uppsala. It was aimed especially at children and drew attention to the many different kinds of animals that played an important role in ancient Egyptian

sacred and profane life and often resulted in highly realistic depictions of animals in art and an extensive tradition of mummification of all kinds of animals (Fig. 1). The accompanying catalogue was available in both Swedish and English.

Taranto – a Greek Colony in South Italy (2002) was based on approximately 110 items on loan from the Archaeological Museum in Taranto and a video film on modern Taranto by P. Cottino. The exhibition aimed at mature adult audiences with a general



Fig. 2. Showcases designed as graves with gravegoods by Eric Sörling. Above, a video film on modern Taranto by P. Cottino; from "Taranto – A Greek Colony in South Italy" (2002).

interest in culture and history. It described the cultural encounter between colonists with an ancient Greek lifestyle and the local Apulian population, and also how the city of modern Taranto in many different ways still profits from its ancient roots and continuities in tradition. By reconstructing a selection of ancient graves, the exhibition also emphasized the importance of knowing the archaeological contexts and a special section focused on the disastrous plunderings of archaeological goods in Apulia and illegal trade (Fig. 2). The exhibition was the result of close cooperation with the Italian Cultural Institute (Stockholm), Soprintendenza Archeologica della Puglia, Il Comune di Taranto and generously sponsored by *Grimaldi Industri AB, Regione Puglia*, the foundation *C.M. Lericì*, the Embassy of Italy (Stockholm) and the Hellenic Ministry of Greece.

The Minoans and the Mycenaeans: Food and Drink in Bronze Age Greece and Tutankhamun's Wardrobe (2003) were two separate travelling exhibitions aimed at the mature adult audience interested in culture and history. They were shown at the same time, as they complemented each other by focusing on important traditions and customs (food/drink and clothing) in the Eastern Mediterranean during the

Bronze Age which for a long time have been very difficult to reconstruct. New technology, however, in the field of microbiology and textile studies has produced important new results. Among other things, it has now become possible to demonstrate how attitudes to gender and class had an important impact on food/eating and clothing habits apart from accessibility to supplies and trading contacts. The Mycenaean and Minoan exhibition (Fig. 3) comprised about 300 artefacts from the major Bronze Age sites in Greece on loan from the Greek National Museum and other Greek and

Italian regional museums. Enlarged photos of modern Greek-inspired dishes by the well-known Swedish cookery-book author and professor of cooking, Anna Bergenström, provided wider audiences with a link to the recent keen interest that Swedish people have shown in Mediterranean culinary traditions. The exhibition was arranged and generously supported financially by the Cultural Olympiad and the Hellenic Ministry of Greece.

The Tutankhamun exhibition (Fig. 4) was owned by the *TextilHistoriska Sällskapet*, Sweden, and was based on a number of reconstructions of Pharaonic clothing, pieces of which were found in the grave of Tutankhamun. The reconstructions were the result of scientific research collaboration between the School of Textiles at the University of Borås (Sweden) and the Textile Research Centre in Leiden. The exhibition drew an usually high number of visitors.

Design in wood – during 5000 years (2004) was aimed at younger adult audiences interested in culture and art. It was based on about 60 fragments of wooden furniture – mainly ancient Egyptian and recent Islamic pieces – as well as one loan from the Kasbah Museum in Tangiers (Morocco). The

Fig. 3. Overview of "Minoans and Mycenaeans: Food and Drink in Bronze Age Greece" (2003) exhibited in the central hall.





Fig. 4. From "Tutankhamun's Wardrobe" (2003). In the foreground, reconstruction of the dress worn by Tutankhamun as a high priest.

ancient and historical fragments were contrasted with a selection of Scandinavian highlights in modern chair design standing on a catwalk (mainly chairs by Åke Axelsson, Josef Frank, Olle Wanscher), which are directly inspired by or even copy ancient Greek and Egyptian chairs (Fig. 5). About 40 miniature reconstructions of ancient Egyptian furniture manufactured by the

Danish architect Dan Svarth illustrated for the audience the kinds of furniture from which our fragments originate. A selection of about 35 wood types were on display and could be touched by the visitors to provide further insight into the many kinds of wood which were and still are used for furniture, house construction and industrial purposes. A gigantic wooden sculpture in the shape



Fig. 5. From "Design in wood – during 5000 years" (2004). In the foreground Åke Axelsson's latest chair "Cleopatra" made especially for the exhibition in the Medelhavsmuseet. Designed by Hans Dahlgren.

of an ancient Egyptian head-support, weighing approximately 3 tons, was created by the artist Kicki Bergquist-Selder and raised in our central court in order to recall to our audiences the



Fig. 6. Wooden sculpture (called "Rest" – in Swedish "Hvila") inspired by ancient Egyptian head supports, made especially for the exhibition on wood in the Medelhavsmuseet by Kicki Bergquist-Selder (2004).

enormous importance of wood for sacred and profane purposes in antiquity, which is only sporadically known today (Fig. 6). The exhibition was generously sponsored by *Skogsindustrierna* and *Setra*.

Golden Treasures – Romania through 7000 years (Oct. 2004–Febr. 2005) was aimed at mature adult audiences interested in history and culture. It was based on 200 items on loan from the National History Museum of Romania in Bucharest as well as other Romanian museums. The exhibition in general sought to remind its audience of the enormous importance which ancient cultures in Romania have played for the development of cultural history in Europe and their close contact with Mediterranean and also Asian cultures. A selection of highlights from 7000 years of Romanian history beginning with the Cucuteni cultures (Fig. 7), and



Fig. 7. Display of pottery from the so-called Cucuteni culture, from "Golden Treasures – Romania through 7000 years" (Oct. 2004–Febr. 2005). Designed by Anna Skagerfors.

culminating in the spectacular finds from the period during the rule of the Roman emperor Trajan (Fig. 8) and further in the 5th century A.D. with the Pietroasa treasure provided the audience with intimate insight into the richness of Central European history and not least the intimate and long-standing cultural relations between Central and Northern Europe and Scandinavia via the Danube, resulting in truly multicultural and multilingual societies. A large catalogue with studies in Romanian history and archaeology by Romanian, Swedish and Danish scholars was produced and generously sponsored by *Torsten och Ragnar Söderbergs stiftelser*.



Fig. 8. Selection of highlights from the Roman period, from "Golden Treasures – Romania through 7000 years" (Oct. 2004–Febr. 2005). Designed by Anna Skagerfors.

New exhibition of collections

In 2002 the Medelhavsmuseet was able to inaugurate a new exhibition of our ancient Near Eastern and Islamic collection, this time displayed in the beautiful rooms with decorated wooden panels which open up towards one side of the central hall. One of the ideas behind the new exhibition was to place the "Eastern" (oriental collections) and "Western" (represented by



Fig. 9. View from the new exhibition of our Near Eastern and Islamic collection, opened in 2002.

the Greek-Roman collection in the central hall) worlds within sight of each other and thus stimulate visits which integrate the two "worlds" and recall the many places and periods in which western and eastern values coexist or coexisted (Fig. 9). The new exhibition was made possible through generous support from *Astra Seneca*, Turkey.

Minor temporary exhibitions

In addition to the larger, more time-consuming temporary exhibitions, a number of minor, temporary exhibitions (photographic or similar) have been on display in a gallery next to our café and

museum shop. These exhibitions focused on more recent historical or cultural-policy aspects of the Mediterranean or highlighted different kinds of ties between the past and the present.

2001: *Two collectors in the Orient*: an exhibition about the two Swedish collectors of Islamic art, F.R. Martin and J.P. Lamm and their travels primarily in Iran at the end of the 19th century. *The Thread of Ariadne* displayed carpets woven by traditional techniques in Konya (Turkey) and designed by the Swedish weaver Agneta Svensk. 2002: *Hasankeyf – threatened cultural heritage in Anatolia* showed photos by the Swedish photographer Marco Pluss of some of the archaeological sites threatened by the construction of a huge dam. Photos on Sufism in Iran by the Iranian photographer Morteza Samadi showed *Ways to seek God* and was supported by the *Swedish Institute*. 2003: In our café, photos from the Swedish international, photo journalism agency *Pressens Bild* covered *the invasion of Iraq and destruction of archaeological sites*. The photographic exhibition *Malta – a maritime exhibition* was a travelling exhibition

illustrating the history of Malta with special attention paid to Swedish-Maltese relations and produced by the Foreign Ministry and Tourist Office of Malta. In cooperation with the Greek Embassy, the Medelhavsmuseet was also able to put on display an exhibition about the Greek Nobel Prize winning poet *G. Seferis as a photographer* through a selection of Seferis' photos from various places in the Mediterranean. About a dozen models produced by students at the Royal Institute of Technology constituted highly innovative and exciting *Suggestions for an Arabic culture centre in Stockholm* and were exhibited by the students and their professors themselves, who also produced a small booklet (Fig. 10). Also in cooperation with the Royal Institute of Technology, the Medelhavsmuseet produced a *virtual reality artistic reconstruction of the royal palace at Vouni in Northern Cyprus* excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and dating to the early 5th century B.C. The artists were Bino & Cool who demonstrated the reconstruction at the Royal Institute of Technology for several months to a large number of enthusiastic children. The reconstruc-



Fig. 10. One of the suggestions for an Arabic Culture Centre in Stockholm, made by students at the Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm (2003).



Fig. 11: An evening with Sinan Orkestra in Baghdad Café.

tion is planned to form part of a travelling exhibition about ancient Cyprus. *Meeting with Ay. Irini* was an exhibition of works of art inspired by our Cyprus collection and made by students at the University College of Arts, Crafts and Design (Stockholm). In cooperation with the Embassy of Cyprus, the Cypriot artists Kikos Lanitis and Nikos Kouroussis showed a selection of their works. 2004: As a reflection of the Olympic Games in Athens, two photo exhibitions focused on Athens: *Dream and Reality: display models in Athens* by Ingrid Keller and *Early Photographic Panoramas of Greece* by Marie Mauzy. Sofia Zaraboukas exhibited a selection of her illustrations from her children's books on ancient Greek myths.

Baghdad Café: Multicultural meeting-forum

In recent years, the Medelhavsmuseet has built up a network which includes a series of institutions and associations who are working on a national or

international basis in the Mediterranean region. This network has helped us, among other things, to arrange seminars, lectures and "cultural days", often with special focus on current developments in the Middle East and Northern Africa. Weekly evening arrangements in our café – called Baghdad café – comprised discussions about literature,



Fig. 12: From public debate on Sweden and Islam in the World, arranged shortly after 11 September 2001, with foreign minister Anna Lindh, among others, on the panel.

religion, philosophy, music or food, often accompanied by live music and led by specially invited guest speakers (Fig. 11). Among those guests who have livened up many evenings in our Museum, are Swedish authors, Swedish foreign correspondents specializing in the Middle East or diplomats with personal or professional experiences relating to the Mediterranean such as Theodor Kallifatides, Alexandra Pascalidou, Göran Rosenberg, Jonas Khemiri, Sigrid Kahle, Ingemar Karlsson, Jan Henningsson, Cecilia Uddén and Bitte Hamnergren.

The Activities in the central hall

Other major activities have taken place in our central hall. Shortly after 11 September 2001, the Medelhavsmuseet arranged two public debates, one on "Islam in Sweden", the other on "Sweden and Islam in the world", including foreign minister Anna Lindh on the panel (Fig. 12). In 2002 two concerts took place with a reconstruction of an ancient Greek water organ



Fig. 13. Concert with reconstruction of the ancient water organ (*hydraulis*) found in Dion, Greece (2002).

(*hydraulis*) found at Dion in Greece. The concerts were arranged in cooperation with the European Cultural Centre of Delphi and the Foundation for Cultural Cooperation between Sweden and Greece, and generously sponsored by the A.G. Leventis Foundation (Paris) (Fig. 13).

Conferences and guest lectures

We have also had the pleasure to be able to invite foreign guest lecturers in co-operation with various embassies, the Swedish Institute and the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Stockholm University. 2001: An international symposium on *Archaeology and History: research on diseases, cures and the role of healing cults in Antiquity* with contributions by Helen King (University College, Cambridge, UK); Gaspare Baggieri (Beni Culturali, Rome), Jean Macintosh Turfa (Bryn Mawr College, USA); Danielle Gourevitch (École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris); Claire Balandier (Aix-en-Provence); Natacha Massar (Centre de Recherche sur la Cité grecque, Université Libre de Bruxelles) besides Cecilia Beer, Bengt Lindskog, Martin

Söderlind, Olof Stroh and Hedvig von Ehrenheim from Sweden. 2003: François de Polignac (Centre de Louis Gernet, Paris): "Alexander the Great in Arabic Sources". A public seminar on the Greek request for the return of the Elgin Marbles with contributions by Mary Beard and Anthony Snodgrass (Cambridge University), among others (see this volume). *A Cyprus day in the Medelhavsmuseet* with contributions by Kirsi Lorentz (Finland) and Vassos Karageorghis (Cyprus) besides Sanne Houby-Nielsen, Pontus Hellström, Sofia Nordin Fischer, and Fanny Faegersten from Sweden. 2004: John Brady Kiesling (Athens): "Empires in the Sand: The American Universe after Iraq"; Joseph Friggeri (Malta), "Arab Influences in Malta", Ruiz Cabrero (Cordoba): "The Cordoba Mosque"; an international symposium on *Romania – Cultural Contacts through Centuries* with contributions by Dragomir Popovici, Crişan Muşeteanu, Mircea Babeş, Ioan Piso, Ioan Ioniţă, Nicolae Tanaşoca from Romania, Pia Guldager Bilde, Jane Hjarl Petersen and Flemming Kaul from Denmark, besides Ulf Erik Hagberg, Lennart Lind, Olof Sundqvist, Anders Kaliff, Helmer Gustavson from Sweden.

School classes and children

Despite its comparatively small size, the Medelhavsmuseet is one of Stockholm's leading museums when it comes to undertaking guided tours for school classes. On average, about 390 tours for school classes have taken place each year, and about 30 workshops for children have been arranged at weekends and in school holidays each year.

International cooperation

In 2002 the Medelhavsmuseet together with the Swedish Institute in Alexandria took the initiative to invite representatives from museums around the

Mediterranean and the Black Sea to a meeting in Alexandria. The aim was to investigate the possibilities for concrete cooperation on an exhibition which draws attention to less well known regions of the Mediterranean, and which is planned and produced jointly. Since then this museum group, called *MedMus* (Mediterranean Museums), has met two more times (in Stockholm and in Istanbul) to discuss the exhibition further. A presentation of the meeting in Alexandria was published in the first volume of *Medelhavsmuseet: Focus on the Mediterranean*. The meetings have been generously sponsored by the *Swedish Institute*.

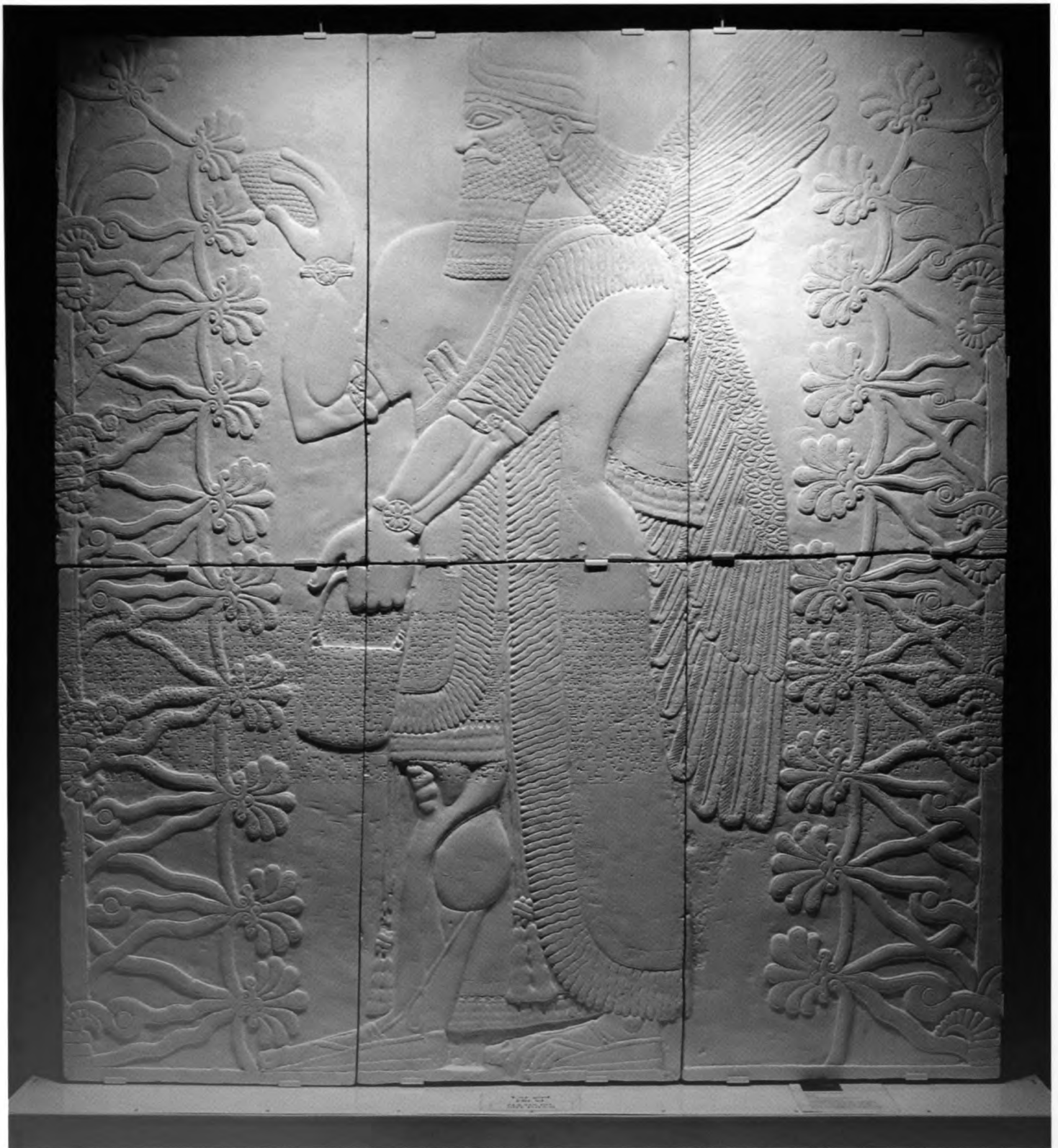
Donations: New Leventis Gallery

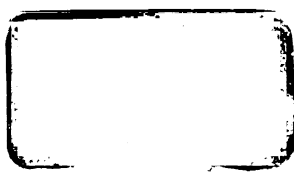
The Medelhavsmuseet is most happy to announce that the A.G. Leventis Foundation has donated very generous financial support for a Leventis Gallery, that is a new exhibition of our Cyprus Collection in the central hall of our museum. The new gallery is expected to be ready by 2008.

Collection management

In 2004 Medelhavsmuseet ordered a plastercopy of one of the museums finest objects, the Assyrian palace relief, NM 856 (NM Ant 2339). This was done partly to have a safety copy partly to use the copy as a movable object which can be placed in dialogue with other parts of the collections. The plastercopy has thus been mounted on a movable construction. We also hope to be able to offer plastercopies to museums specialized in plaster copies or to other art institutions for the purpose of study. The plastercopy was very generously sponsored by the museum's *Association of friends* (Fig. 14).

Fig. 14. Plaster copy of the Assyrian palace relief, NM 856 (NM Ant 2339).







Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, Sweden.

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